



Bosnia: The war is over

Historic accord will end four years of horror

RUPERT CORNWELL
Washington

After a gruelling, high-wire negotiating marathon, Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia yesterday agreed to a US-brokered peace plan to end almost four years of bloodshed, misery and destruction in the Balkans, the most savage conflict in Europe since the end of the Second World War.

The deal was due to be initiated later by Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia in a ceremony at the Wright-Patterson US Air Force base in Dayton, Ohio, where the three rival delegations and officials from the five-nation Contact Group have been closeted for 21 days. A formal treaty signing is due in Paris, perhaps during President Bill Clinton's

forthcoming trip to Europe, to be followed by the dispatch of a Nato peacekeeping force of 60,000 men, including 20,000 US troops.

Announcing the crowning, if perhaps most fragile, foreign policy achievement of his term so far, Mr Clinton applauded the three leaders for their "historic and heroic choice" in heeding the will of "the overwhelming majority of their peoples" that the war must end. "Today, thank God, the voices of those people have been heard."

The agreement provides for a united Sarajevo as capital of a single Bosnian state, within its present borders but composed of two entities, the Bosnian-Croat Federation and the Bos-

nian Serb Republic. They will be linked by a central government with common institutions, based around a national presidency and parliament to be chosen in direct, internationally supervised elections.

But the comprehensive settlement was in doubt until the very last. "When I got up this morning I was not sure there'd be peace," Mr Clinton said after a confused late night and early morning of climactic negotiating.

For 30 minutes around 4am on Monday, the US team thought they had a deal, only for the three parties to shy away. Then the talks veered to the brink of total collapse, with the protagonists separated until almost the very last by the

crucial territorial issue of the Posavina corridor in northern Bosnia, providing a vital link between Bosnian Serb lands in the east and west of the country. Finally, after more deadlines had come and gone, a last gambit by the US mediating team.

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led by the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, and the Assistant Secretary of State, Richard Holbrooke, produced the crucial breakthrough among the exhausted participants.

According to officials, the Americans simply laid out the table the final draft of the treaty, containing a compromise solution to the territorial disputes. Croatia and Serbia accepted, Bosnia held out. But isolated and under intense pressure from all sides not to let this best, and perhaps last chance, of a peace slip away, President Izetbegovic went along.

Thus, if all goes well, will end a war which has taken 250,000 lives, wrought untold destruction and turned two million people into refugees. Among the

treaty's provisions are the promises of a massive international reconstruction effort, and the right of the displaced to return to their homes. Those charged with war crimes would be barred from public life.

But the potential pitfalls ahead are numerous, amid predictions that the fighting could still resume once winter is over, and that the deal is a thinly veiled, de facto, partition of Bosnia. The two states-within-a-state will be left with their own armies, and it was unclear too what arrangements had been made for the re-arming of the Bosnian Muslim military.

At one stage, President Izetbegovic was demanding a solid provision in the treaty that the Muslim army be given the

strength to match its Bosnian Serb rival. This was refused by the US, but Washington remains prepared to provide weapons and training. But several European countries object, arguing it is impossible for the US to be simultaneously a neutral guarantor of the peace and the supplier of arms to one of the former belligerents.

More immediately, Mr Clinton must get the Congressional approval for the despatch of US troops to help protect what could be a very precarious peace.

The Nato mission, he said, would be "clear, limited and achievable," while US troops would be under exclusive US command. "Without us, the peace would be lost and the war would resume," the President warned. The conflict could again "spread like poison" through the entire region.



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Cold stare of a woman who killed her own child



Convicted of three murders: Rosemary West bowed her head as she heard the verdicts at Winchester yesterday

Rosemary West guilty of three murders

WILL BENNETT

Rosemary West showed no emotion yesterday as she was convicted of three murders, one of them the killing of her eldest daughter, Heather.

The jury at Winchester Crown Court was unable to reach a verdict on the seven other murders with which she is charged and spent their second night in a hotel. They will resume their deliberations this morning on the alleged murders of seven young women who, the prosecution say, were tied up, gagged, stripped and sexually abused at the Wests' home at 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester.

The murders which Rosemary West, 41, was convicted of yesterday were those of Heather West, her daughter, Charmaine West, her husband Frederick's step-daughter from his first marriage, and Shirley Robinson, a lodger.

West looked pale and was breathing heavily as she stood

in the dock to hear the jury foreman answer "Guilty" three times when asked what the jury's verdict was.

She showed no emotion but after the first two verdicts there were gasps in the public gallery directly above her and a woman believed to be a relative of Charmaine's mother, Rena, who was murdered by Fred West, left weeping.

The verdicts did not come together. Just after 3pm, after nine hours' deliberation, the jury convicted her of the murders of Heather and Charmaine West. Heather disappeared in 1987, aged 16, and her remains were the first found at Cromwell Street by the police in February last year. The court had been told that there had been growing friction between the Wests and their eldest daughter.

Her body had been dismembered and decapitated like all the remains of the nine young

women found at Cromwell Street. None of her clothes or possessions were ever recovered and her disappearance was never reported.

Fred West admitted murdering Charmaine, who disappeared aged eight in 1971, and her remains were found at the Wests' previous home, 25 Midland Road, Gloucester. The court had heard that West, then 17, had been left to look after Charmaine when Fred West was sent to prison in 1971. The prosecution alleged that Charmaine disappeared while Fred West was still in jail.

At about 4.30pm, the jury of seven men and four women returned having agreed that West was also guilty of the murder of Shirley Robinson. She had had a sexual relationship with Fred West and was pregnant by him when she disappeared. She also had a lesbian relationship with Rosemary West.

The prosecution alleged that Rosemary West had become increasingly jealous of Shirley and that there had been tension in the house.

The jury foreman said they had not reached verdicts on the other seven murder charges and they were sent away to an hotel for the night by Mr Justice Mantell, the judge.

Rosemary West has denied all the murders throughout her eight-week trial at Winchester, blaming the killings on her husband. In taped interviews with police he admitted the murders and said that his wife was not involved.

During three days in the witness box Rosemary West said she knew nothing about the murders which the prosecution has alleged were a joint enterprise with her husband.

Fred West, who was charged with 12 murders, was found hanged in his cell in Birmingham's Winson Green prison on New Year's Day.

Palace offers olive branch to Diana

STEVE BOGGAN
COLIN BROWN
and LOUISE JURY

The Princess of Wales was yesterday offered talks on her future within the Royal Family as speculation grew that a divorce from the Prince of Wales was now inevitable.

While controversy raged over her admission during a *Panorama* interview on BBC1 that she had committed adultery, Buckingham Palace extended an olive branch to her and promised to "help and support" the Princess in her desire to become an ambassador for Britain.

However, immediately after the announcement by the palace, Nicholas Soames, the Minister for the Armed Forces and a former equerry to Prince Charles, fuelled the growing political row by suggesting that any future role for the Princess would involve toeing the royal line.

Mr Soames, who was widely criticised for suggesting that the Princess was paranoid, said: "She will have to operate within the constraints of an orderly operation. You cannot be just a freelance. She cannot have it both ways."

The Prime Minister, John Major, was expected to raise the crisis with the Queen at Buckingham Palace last night during his weekly audience with her. The official line from Buckingham Palace was that the interview had not made a divorce more likely.

"Lawyers for the Prince and Princess of Wales clarified the position last October and nothing at all has changed since then," a spokeswoman said. At that time, the lawyers issued a statement denying press reports that the couple had discussed either a divorce or a financial settlement.

The palace spokeswoman said that the talks on offer to the Princess would be aimed at identifying her future role.

"That would be the role that she described for herself in the interview," she said. "We will be talking again to the Princess, to see how we can help her define her future role and continue to support her as a member of the Royal Family."

During Monday night's broadcast, the Princess said that she saw herself as an ambassador for Britain.

Her suggestion during the interview that Prince Charles might find being king "suffocating" was denied by his supporters yesterday, while the Princess's supporters claimed that the interview had strengthened public support for her. That argument was reinforced



Diana: Wants to become 'an ambassador for Britain'

by polls which showed that 84 per cent of the public backed her decision to speak out.

Constitutional experts were united in declaring that the divorce, if it had been brought closer, would change nothing constitutionally. The only effect, according to Vernon Bogdanor, Reader in Government at Oxford University, would be to prevent the Princess from ever becoming queen.

That view appeared to reinforce calls for a permanent split. Speaking on the BBC's 70-day programme, the constitutional expert Lord Blake said: "What I saw [in the *Panorama* interview] confirms me in the view that the sooner they get divorced the better."

"The present situation in which they seem to be giving a sort of tit-for-tat, running each other down... has become almost intolerable."

The Venerable George Austin, the Archdeacon of York, said: "They don't have any future together, obviously, and the sooner it comes to an end, the better."

Dr George Carey, the Arch-



PALACE: WERE RIGHT BEHIND HER

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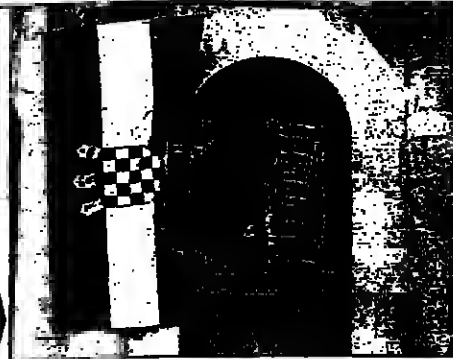
Anthony Clare puts Diana on the couch

Genevieve Fox on the Princess's role models

Vicky Ward on the power of the rival camps

Section Two

HOW FOUR YEARS OF CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS FINALLY CAME TO AN END



YUGOSLAVIA SPLINTERS

June 25 1991: The tension between the republics of the former Yugoslavia erupts into conflict as Croatia and Slovenia proclaim their independence. Yugoslav army tanks fail to crush the Slovenes, but a bitter civil war explodes in Croatia between Croats and local Serbs. In January 1992, the UN brokers a ceasefire in Croatia and the UN Protection Force (Unprofor) puts 14,000 peacekeeping troops in Croatia.



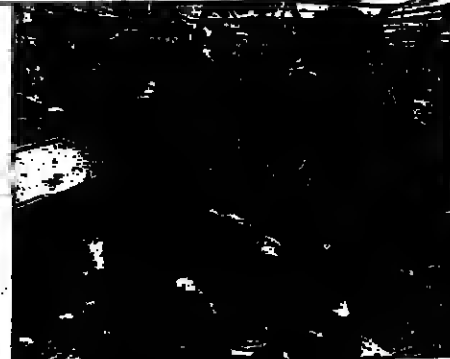
BOSNIA ENGULFED

March 1992: Fighting spills over into Bosnia-Herzegovina, the most ethnically complex of Yugoslavia's republics. Bosnian Muslims and Croats vote for independence in a referendum boycotted by the Serbs, and in April the European Union recognises Bosnia's independence. War erupts between the Bosnian government and local Serbs, who lay siege to the capital Sarajevo.



PRISON HORRORS

August 1992: Television viewers worldwide are shocked by television pictures of emaciated Muslim captives in Serb-run prison camps in Bosnia, one of many atrocities in the war which the outside world blames mostly on Serbs. Despite growing Western outrage, war continues. Peace efforts by the EU and the UN fail. The Vance-Owen plan is rejected and war breaks out between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia.



ENTER NATO

February, 1994: In the worst single attack of the war, a shell kills 68 in the market place in Sarajevo, sparking world-wide outrage. Nato threatens air strikes if the Serbs fail to pull weapons back from around the city. They do so, bringing temporary respite. But subsequent efforts to use Nato air power to defend peacekeepers or the besieged safe areas show its limitations.



ONE WAR ENDS

March, 1994: A US-brokered federation agreement ends war between the Muslims and Croats. This creates the chance for both to turn against the Bosnian Serbs, and lays the groundwork for part of a future constitutional for Bosnia. It follows US pressure on Zagreb, with Washington making an end to fighting a precondition for assistance.

A farewell at last to the monsters of war...

ROBERT FISK

The horrors: Unanswered questions remain after Europe's most savage conflict for 50 years

Three years before the war of the Yugoslav succession, I was in the town of Banja Luka - now one of the Bosnian Serb redoubts - researching the secret wartime life of that well-known ex-UN Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim.

As a Wehrmacht intelligence officer, he had been part of the Kampfgruppe Westphalen which oversaw the mass expulsion from their homes - and later massacre - of tens of thousands of Serbs. I visited the Jasenovac concentration camp where the men were beheaded and the women disembowelled by professional Croat butchers. What could have turned

these gentle Slavic people into such monsters, I kept asking the survivors of the war? They shook their heads - except for the Serb in Banja Luka who refused to talk to me because my taxi driver was a Croat. That was when I remembered Lebanon and realised there would be a civil war in Yugoslavia.

Long after the war had started, I asked a Croatian student the same question as I drove him down the Zagreb highway to his home in Karlovac. Why such savagery? Why the mass rapes, the concentration camps, the ethnic cleansing - by Croats as well as Serbs? And he told

me he thought his people were peasants, that they were cut off from each other by mountain chains, that parents preferred children to work in the fields rather than walk six hours across the valleys to and from Tito's schools. "We are an uneducated people - we are uncivilised," he kept saying, and I was to hear that sad, pathetic refrain over and over again for the next three years.

In the West we had come to admire Tito's Yugoslavia, had viewed the struggle of the Partisans against Nazi Germany through romantic eyes, and ignored the fact that the Second

World War was a civil war in Yugoslavia, a conflict which Tito and his immediate successors froze for 46 years, one which was bound to re-emerge from the old mass graves once the Communist permafrost thawed. We had forgotten the Nazi regime of Ante Pavelic in Croatia, the recruiting drives of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in Sarajevo, the bandit vendettas of the Serbs who supported Tito's 'socialism'.

Cynically enough, our initial rage in the West was directed against the Croat rather than the ethnic cleansing of ex-Yugoslavia; the shelling of

Dubrovnik, the destruction of the 16th-century mosques of Banja Luka, the bombing of Catholic and Orthodox churches, the very liquidation of the cultural identity of the South Slavic people. We forgot, in these moments, our own similar West European traditions of war: the destruction of Coventry, the bridges of Florence, the city of Dresden. And when we visited the concentration camps and talked to the raped Muslim women of Bosnia, we forgot - I know that I did - that the executions and violations were no different from those which had taken place in the German-

Russian war of 1941-45.

In a terrible way, Bosnia - rather than being the worst conflict since the Second World War - was a ghastly continuation of the Second World War; and our failure to realise this led to international humiliation, to the plight of a well-meaning United Nations - corrupt, effete, an arrogant creature of the 90s - chatting to war criminals. Walking out of the Manjaca concentration camp in 1992, away from the Muslims with their bones pressing against their starved flesh, I was reminded of the International Red Cross visits to the Nazi con-

centration camps. Yes, the ICRC wrote at the time, they were well received, the German commandants were courteous. And did not the camp commander of Manjaca - a certain Colonel Popovic - toast us with slivovic in 1992? And did not we and the European diplomats with us, drink slivovic with this monster?

Yes, we were all drawn into the guilt, just as we were all taxed to explain why these Balkan people - they who had produced Ivo Andric and the delicate art of the Bogomils and the Ottoman bridges over the Drina - should do such terrible

things to each other. It was a Serb woman who came closest to explaining this terrible phenomenon to me - in the Croatian capital of Zagreb, of all places. The people of ex-Yugoslavia were all the same, she said: the Croats, the Serbs, the Bosnian Muslims who had been Serbs until they converted to Islam.

Did I not realise, she asked me, that brothers hated each other more than neighbours, that there was nothing more outrageous than to look into the face of your enemy and see your own reflection? It was the most dreadful message that one could hear in an age when we are taught to see our European neighbours as our brothers.

'Happy fire' that signalled the end

EMMA DALY

A first brief rattle of "happy fire" alerted Sarajevo, plunged into darkness and silence by a power cut, to the news that their leaders had made a deal to end the worst European war for 50 years.

"We heard the sound of machine-gun fire, so we assumed there had been a peace deal," said Dino Lukovac nonchalantly as he strode briskly along the icy main street of Sarajevo last night.

Appropriately enough for a war fought on the television screens, three Bosnian journalists watched President Bill Clinton break the news of a peace deal on CNN. One gave a smothered shriek; all three grabbed for a phone to call their mothers. "We must wait to see what is in the agreement," said one. "There have been so many deals. This one smells better, but we will just have to wait and see."

In Sarajevo, the desperate desire to believe in the prospect of peace struggles with the fatalistic fear that the agreement - one that coincides neatly with the annual battlefield lull - will only delay the inevitable resumption of hostilities. Accus-

tomed as they are to diplomatic fanfare followed by failure, Sarajevoans will need solid proof before they allow themselves to hope for an end to the war. "It's great - it's just a pity it didn't happen before we got wounded," Midhat Kapo said, leaning on his single crutch. "But it won't last," added Goran Skopelja, who was hopping along the main road. "Only till the spring," added Mr Kapo. "We will celebrate when we have jobs and salaries and a place to party," he said. "We do feel very happy that Sarajevo is to be united - at least they did something to justify our fight for the last three years."

Three young women drinking coffee in a trendy town-centre bar were stunned but delighted by the news. "We've been waiting for the results of the talks for about five days, and now we don't know what to say," Hasret Fejic exclaimed. "If there is going to be a real peace, that is truly beautiful - but we will have to wait and see."

Her friend Amela Sehic added: "We are optimistic of course. Tonight we won't celebrate, but maybe tomorrow." As Ms Fejic said, "During these four years there has been so much fear and hope and so many lies that we don't believe

anything until we see it. And still we will keep faith only with our arms."

Belma Hamzic, a student muffled against the bitter cold, was as cautious: "If there is a peace, I will party with my friends for a week. But I won't start the celebrations until I am living a normal life again - or at least half of the life I had before the war."

Her views neatly encompassed the dilemma facing the leaders in Dayton: "No one wants the war to go on. We should accept some concessions for peace, we should be tolerant but not too tolerant," she said. Everyone wants a solution but no one wants to surrender too much. Ms Hamzic, for instance, said she would not accept the loss of land along the Posavina corridor, the Serb lifeline through northern Bosnia, as the price for peace.

Last night there were very few details of the agreement - what the nats and bolts will involve and, more importantly, how the accord will be implemented. "Yes, I've heard the news," said Haris Kolos, a young barman. "Hey!" he shouted across to a friend. "Have you heard the latest joke? They've signed the new cease-fire."



Peace in their time: Soldiers in Sarajevo greeting the news of the settlement. Others in the city were more nonchalant

'At least we know there will be no more killing'

Troops fly out to keep peace

Through the window of my room I look at the snow piling up across the street. A year ago, that would have meant a disaster. This time, although it's equally cold, I don't mind. Peace arrived.

Sarajevoans will enjoy the peace alone, with their loved ones, just as they suffered the worst brutalities of war.

Many will not feel joy - the ones who lost a father, a son, a mother or daughter, or a person they loved. But they will know that there will be no more killing. It's over. We have awakened from the nightmare after 1,326 days, hoping we will never have another one.

I have seen many familiar faces vanish in the past four years. Some lived for the day,

Happiness will be return to a normal life, writes **Nebojsa Malic**, a Serb who stayed in Sarajevo throughout the war.

and died the day after tomorrow. Others found a way out, telling no one, escaping the perpetual nightmare. Those they left behind, like me, never demanded an explanation. Escape was a fact of life in Sarajevo. From today it will be a curiosity.

Massacres, sniping and shelling have already departed from everyday life. Everybody knows that they may return if something goes terribly wrong, but they choose not to think about that. For too long we were forced to think of nothing else.

Many people may now think of resuming the normal life

where it stopped on 5 April, 1992, to return lost and forgotten tapes to the video-dealers, to get back the books that they lent, to visit the people they had planned to see on that Sunday morning. The discovery that this will never be possible will be a shock far greater than the day that the war began.

I smile when I think of my recent definition of peace. It was "a shower". In a city where running water is rare and hot water is a luxury, a shower represents the sign of a normal life. Many people forgot what it looks like. My four-year-old nephew has never seen water

come out of a tap. Now I know that he will, and that makes my heart sing.

Shall I really never again hear an air-raid siren screaming on a clear summer day, or dive for cover after I hear a whine of shells? Most probably not. Shall I ever see a boy with his hair as grey as my grandfather's? Will there be any more winters without warmth and light, or summers without water or food? I hope not. Will there again be children playing in fountains, young lovers holding hands under the trees, old people walking and feeding the pigeons just because they exist,

not because they are good to eat? This time I know there will.

We will need help again, though. It is not easy to get used to war, but neither is it easy to get used to peace. My generation, like the one immediately before it, was butchered. We need some understanding and love. A year ago I had no prospect except death. Now I am faced with a variety of possibilities, many of which were unthinkable. Like most of my friends, I will need some guidance in this new freedom.

Now I understand what freedom means, because I was without it for such a long time. Whether this place becomes one state or a million, the people here will be free. And as long as they think like human beings,

borders will really make no difference.

We should have learned that long ago. I think it took me some time to see it, but it was always there - freedom to live, love and choose. And now it is back, for all of us to enjoy. All I wished during the days of disaster was to live without constantly thinking of death, misery and pain. I will remember them, but I will have a chance not to live through them again, just like 20 million other people in what used to be Yugoslavia.

Looking out my window at the snow that has stopped falling - but not for long - I close my eyes, and think, "Thank you, God, for it is over," and also: "Thank you, God, for what now begins."

CHRISTOPHER BELLAMY
Defence Correspondent

The first of 60,000 troops of the Nato peace implementation force will fly into Bosnia within a few days of signing the final peace agreement in Paris, scheduled for 6 December. Nato sources said yesterday.

Over the following two weeks, the 2,000 strong "enabling force" - staff officers, signallers and engineers - will fly in to reconnoitre the peace lines agreed in Dayton and start preparing for the arrival of the rest of the force over the ensuing three months. Meanwhile, the Nato planners at Mons in Belgium will make the final adjustments to Nato plan 40104 - originally the plan to pull the UN forces out in the event of its mission becoming impossible: now the plan for Nato to take over responsibility for military operations from the UN and secure the peace by keeping the warring sides apart.

Nato is taking over all military functions from the UN Protection Force - Unprofor - but not from other UN agencies which will continue to be needed to ensure humanitarian relief and to supervise elections. The Nato forces will be deployed along the 600-mile ceasefire line, and are unlikely to get involved in escorting convoys: liaison officers will in-

form civilian convoys that it is safe to move. A senior civilian official, initially from the UN, will balance the Nato military commander at each level. He will oversee aid, repatriation of displaced persons, reconstruction, supervision of elections and investigation of war crimes.

The plan envisages it will take 96 days to put all the Nato troops in place. After the first fortnight, those UN troops - including many British - who will be staying in Bosnia as part of the new force will switch to Nato command. At the same time, the commander of the Nato Allied Rapid Reaction Corps (ARRC), which will form the basis of the peace implementation force, Lieutenant-General Mike Walker, will take over from the UN commander, Lt General Rupert Smith in Sarajevo. Then the main body will begin moving in by rail from Germany through Hungary, and by sea from Britain and France.

The Nato forces will bring heavier equipment, including US Abrams tanks and British Challengers, in line with their new, more robust mandate. Nato's mission will be clear, and Nato forces will only take orders from the US General, George Joulwan, who commands Nato forces in Europe. Any attack on Nato forces or violation of the ceasefire will be met with armed force.

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PEACE IN THE BALKANS



THE UN IN CHAINS

May 26, 1995: The Serbs bombard Sarajevo. Nato air strikes in response touch off a crisis in which more than 350 UN peacekeepers are taken hostage by the Bosnian Serbs. Serbia, improving relations with the West, helps to arrange the hostages' release; Britain and France strengthen their forces in Bosnia, but a question-mark is left over the UN's presence.



SREBRENICA'S FALL

July 11, 1995: The Bosnian Serbs overrun Srebrenica, a Muslim enclave which had been declared a "safe area" by the United Nations. Later, Dutch peacekeepers admit that the defence of the town was inadequate and the UN is accused of leaving 6,000 Bosnian Muslims to the Serbs. Many are executed in perhaps the worst atrocity of the war. Afterwards, NATO threatens major air strikes if the remaining "safe areas" are attacked.



CROATIA'S REVENGE

August 4, 1995: Croatia launches a massive offensive against the Serb-held Krajina, capturing in days a region which the Serb minority held for four years. A subsequent Muslim-Croat offensive in north-western Bosnia wins 1,500 square miles of land; tens of thousands of Serbs flee. In neither case does Serbia intervene. The offensive partially restores the territorial balance in Bosnia.



THE WEST STEPS IN

August 28, 1995: Serb shells hit Sarajevo near the main market, killing 37 and wounding 85. In retaliation, Nato planes and UN artillery blast Serb targets in Bosnia in a series of massive attacks. For the first time, outside intervention is allowed to play a role. The Bosnian Serbs agree to move weapons away from Sarajevo, and NATO halts the bombing.



PEACE AT LAST

October 5, 1995: President Bill Clinton announces a breakthrough: a ceasefire is agreed for Oct 10; the combatants are to attend talks in the US, with an eventual peace conference in Paris. The ceasefire is delayed and goes into effect a minute after midnight on October 12. A preliminary peace conference is held at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio. On Tuesday 21st November, after 21 days of talks, President Clinton announces a peace deal.

and a cautious embrace for days of peace

The future: Can the Dayton deal lead to a lasting settlement?

TONY BARBER
Europe Editor

The peace settlement announced for Bosnia yesterday was portrayed by Western diplomats as "a full, comprehensive agreement, covering all the issues and including all the parties". But is it a good peace or a bad peace; is it a lasting peace?

The settlement will be judged by whether it brings long-term stability to a region that has known two terrible civil wars in 54 years. This means not only that guns must fall silent and civilians must no longer hide in their basements for fear of mortar shells and snipers, but that the politicians who have inflicted such suffering on their peoples must abandon their ambitions of redrawing borders and fashioning nationally exclusive states.

The terms of the settlement make it clear that the leaders of Serbia and Croatia have for the moment dropped their plans to incorporate chunks of Bosnia into their respective countries. Bosnia is to remain a united state in its pre-war borders, with central institutions such as a presidency, parliament and constitutional court.

predicted the absorption of western Bosnia into Croatia? There is little doubt that Serbia and Croat nationalists in Bosnia will press for a Greater Serbia and a Greater Croatia for years. By dividing Bosnia into a Muslim-Croat federation and a Serb republic, and by keeping the central government weak, the settlement offers hope to those Croats and Serbs who would like to draw each area into their spheres of influence.

The Ohio agreement capitalises on the fact that Mr Milosevic, keen to return Serbia to international respectability and secure an end to UN sanctions, stopped talking of a Greater Serbia three years ago.

Serbia and Croatia are likely to resurrect dreams of annexation

He failed to support the secessionist Serbs of Croatia when Mr Tudjman's armies overran them last May and August, and in accepting this settlement he has slapped down the chief Bosnian advocates of a Greater Serbia, Radovan Karadzic and General Ratko Mladic.

Yet Mr Milosevic's intentions remain obscure. His objective may simply be to retain power in Serbia, but it would be a surprise if he made no attempt to exploit the settlement to forge the closest possible relationship between Belgrade and the Serb republic in Bosnia.

slow process that began in modern times with the Serb revolt against Ottoman rule in 1804 and has continued in the wars of the Yugoslav succession of 1991-95. This perception of Serbia's development is shared across the whole political spectrum. No matter how moderate Mr Milosevic's policies during his remaining period in office, it can be only a matter of time before someone else takes up the national crusade.

Similar question marks hang over Croatia's attitudes. The ties between Zagreb and the Croats of western Herzegovina, bordering Croatia, are much closer than the ties joining the Bosnian Croats to the Muslims.

Mr Tudjman's ruling party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), has a powerful Herzegovinian faction as well as a satellite party in Bosnia that bears considerable responsibility for the failure of Muslims and Croats to make a success of their federation. Such forces are unlikely to rest in their efforts to bind western Herzegovina as closely as possible to Croatia.

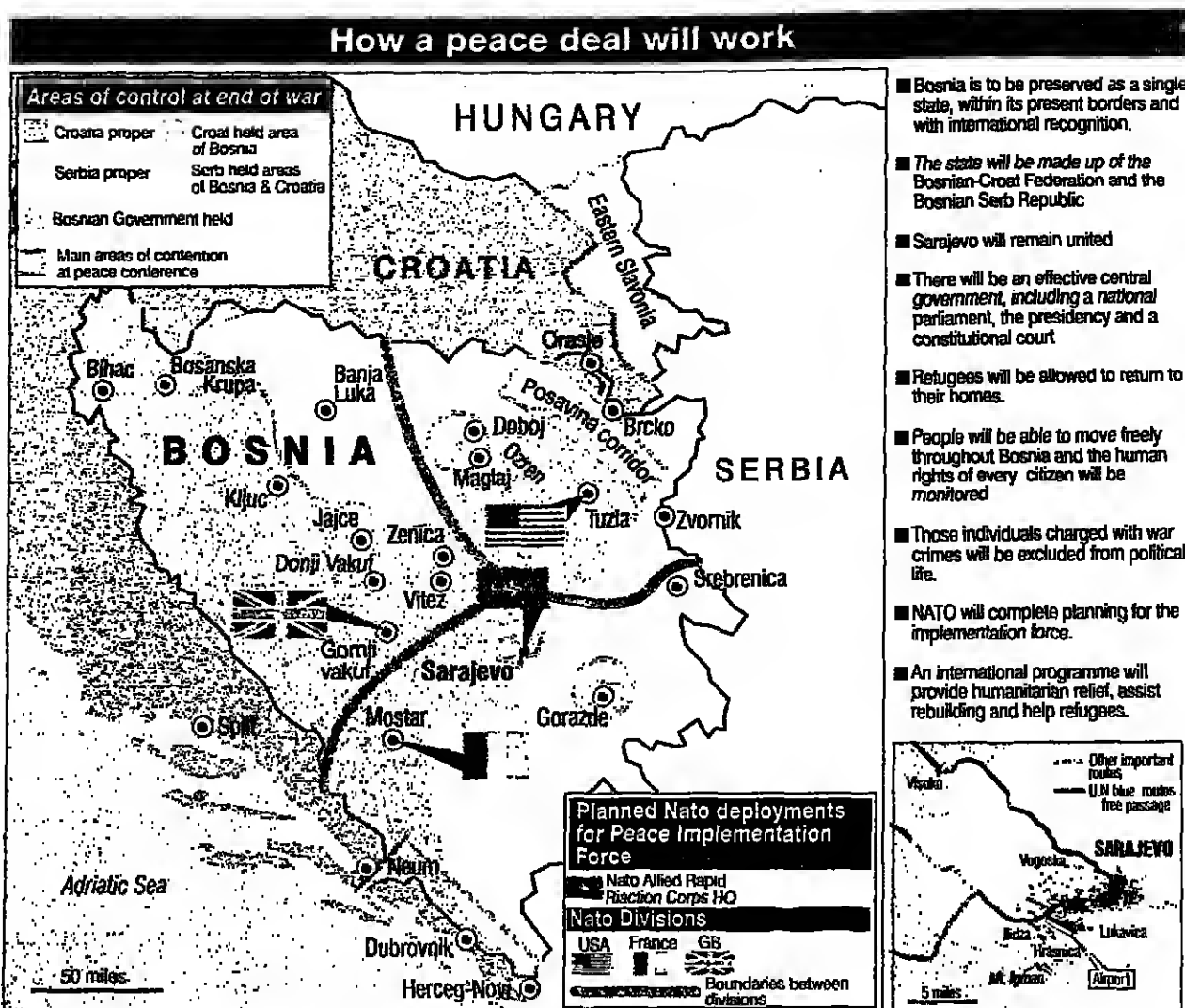
Bosnia's political stability will also be affected by the enormous forced movements of people over the last three-and-a-half years. The Ohio accord speaks of returning two million refugees to their homes, but Muslims terrorised in Banja Luka or Srebrenica may never go back.

Many have no homes to return to as each side has burned down the property of civilians of different nationality. It would be unrealistic to expect the reversal of the population transfers that have transformed Bosnia from a republic of mixed communities into one where Serbs, Croats and Muslims live in distinct areas.

This will place a strain on Bosnia's territorial integrity, because important areas populated by Serbs and Croats are contiguous to Serbia and Croatia. In the Drina valley, on Bosnia's eastern border with Serbia, Serbs have driven out practically all Muslims except those in the enclave of Gorazde, making it easier to imagine a merger between Serbia and Serb-held eastern Bosnia.

Persecuted Muslims might be persuaded to return to eastern Bosnia if they saw that men such as Mr Karadzic and General Mladic, accused by a UN tribunal of war crimes, were to stand trial. The peace settlement stipulates that indicted war criminals cannot hold political office, but Muslims expelled from Serb-controlled towns know it is not only indicted war criminals but hundreds of middle-ranking Serb bureaucrats, skilled in the techniques of "ethnic cleansing", from whom they have something to fear.

The Ohio deal's chief weakness is that by dividing Bosnia, it officially establishes two political entities intent on pulling in opposite directions. It may work for a while - and that is perhaps better than more war now - but eventually the contradictions in this settlement are likely to prove too much.



Clinton faces troop tussle

RUPERT CORNWELL
Washington

President Clinton's appearance in the Rose Garden yesterday to announce a hard won settlement for Bosnia signalled the start of a separate campaign on the home front - to convince a sceptical Congress and public opinion of why America should send 20,000 troops on a risky mission to a distant corner of Europe.

"Our leadership made this agreement possible," Mr Clinton told his countrymen, arguing that the fate of Bosnia was of vital national concern. "Now US leadership is needed to make this peace real. Our values and interests all over the world are at stake."

Nato's mission would be "clear, limited and achievable." US troops would take their orders "only from the US general who commands Nato", and would be able to hit back at an



Newt Gingrich: arch-foe

aggressor with "immediate and decisive force." The backbone of the US contingent will be the First Armoured Division, based in Germany and equipped with tanks, helicopters and laser guided weaponry.

Mr Clinton promised to work out speedy arrangements for consultations with Congress,

which could start as soon as he had approved the final Nato deployment plan. Congress would have "a period of weeks" to examine the issue, before the formal signing ceremony which would trigger the deployment.

Capitol Hill may be anything but receptive. Having overwhelmingly voted earlier to insist on a congressional vote before any despatch of troops, the House on Saturday passed a separate measure that would ban funding for any US peace-keeping force. The cost of such a force in Bosnia is estimated at \$1.5bn for a 12-month stay.

The margin, 243-171, fell well short of the two-thirds majority required to overturn a certain Presidential veto. But it reflects the mood in the country at large, where polls consistently register 60 per cent or more of the public against US participation in Nato. That proportion may shrink, now that a deal has been achieved in Day-

ton. But Mr Clinton faces a very hard sell, made no easier by the partisan bitterness of the budget row which shut down much of the Government for an unprecedented six days last week. Newt Gingrich, Mr Clinton's arch-foe on the budget, then commented venomously that while General Colin Powell or Bob Dole, the Senate Republican leader could "easily" get a Yes vote, "it is impossible for this President to explain why he is going to risk the lives of young men and women."

Yesterday, the Speaker sounded marginally more conciliatory, saying that while he would not vote "Yes", "I would discourage any member of the House from automatically voting No." He was ready to give Mr Clinton "the benefit of the doubt" as Commander in Chief. Thus the stage is set for a fraught new round of negotiations between the White House and Congress.

Readers rally to cause of the young victims

Readers of the Independent are again demonstrating their sympathy for the people of former Yugoslavia by lending strong support to our Children of War Christmas appeal.

Two years ago, we asked you to help people in the war-stricken Balkans struggle through a bitter winter, and you helped us raise £300,000 for a wide range of charities.

This year, after only two working days, you have already contributed £7,100. Contributions range from £5 to £1,000; two anonymous donors have already put that amount towards Save the Children and the British Red Cross.

We are asking readers to support four charities, each of which is actively seeking to help children whose lives have been blighted by four years of war.



CHILDREN OF WAR APPEAL

Prolonged peace in the region depends on enabling its six million children to recover from the appalling traumas of war - to rejoin their parents, rediscover childhood, and find food and shelter.

The funds you contribute will go to the deserving cause you choose:

■ Save the Children, whose main effort is focussed on children who have been separated from their families, counselling and re-uniting them.

■ The Red Cross, which is

conducting the largest humanitarian enterprise to the region, looking after large camps of refugees, and linking people through its famous messaging network.

■ War Child, which plans to build a £2.5m music therapy centre in Mostar, and to send urgently needed prosthetics out to wounded children in the Tuzla area;

■ Child Advocacy International, which aims to bring up to 100 sick children back to Britain for treatment they could not possibly hope to obtain at home. The first three of these children, all of whom are suffering from congenital conditions and are in urgent need of treatment, will be flown home next Monday.

Please write your cheques or postal order individually to the charity of your choice.

INDEPENDENT CHILDREN OF WAR APPEAL

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☐ War Child
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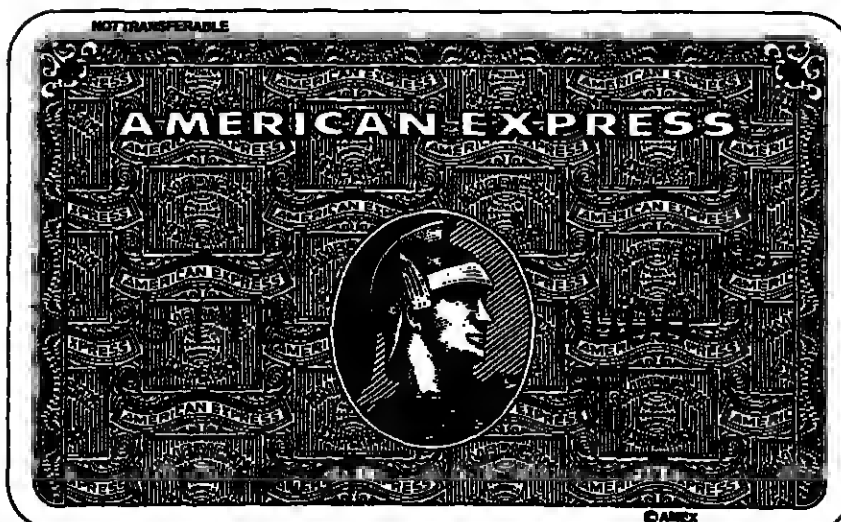
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DIANA - THE AFTERMATH

Princess's words could be used against her

LOUISE JURY and
JOJO MOYES

As fall-out from Princess Diana's interview reverberated through Royal circles, a senior source claimed the extraordinary programme had brought the drama to a head.

"I think that it has made it more immediate that some sort of resolution is reached," he said.

The source claimed that what the Princess said could be used by her or against her in future negotiations with the palace. "I

believe what she said is going to be quoted in future as a justification for certain action by Buckingham Palace or by way of defence of certain action by the Princess of Wales's office."

He added that the "extremely upsetting" situation could not continue. "There could be a crisis in five minutes if anything, heaven forbid, should happen to the Queen. It's got to be looked at and resolved," he said.

"I would have thought that the Prime Minister and the

leaders of the Opposition may well decide themselves that they confer and see if there could be a concerted recommendation that they could make to Buckingham Palace."

There must, he added, be a plan for the future - "whether that plan be that the Prince of Wales succeeds to the throne and some sort of accommodation is made without the marriage being dissolved or whether, in fact, the marriage is to be dissolved".

Meanwhile, close confidants

of both the Prince and Princess of Wales were sharply divided yesterday in their responses to her revelations.

Jonathan Porritt, an adviser to the Prince, said the interview was "bound to do some short-term damage... Some of it I guess will stick."

He said both were "in some ways vulnerable". But contrary to the Princess's view, he said the Prince would accept the limitations imposed on a king. "He has always seen himself in training for that top job."

Professor Stephen Hasler,

Chairman of the Republican Society, said the Princess was "a tough cookie. She's not going to run away and she's going to take on this Royal establishment for years to come. The public are on her side - she's more of a human being than this very stuffed-shirt family."

The constitutional historian Lord Blake said the sooner the couple divorced the better. "The present situation in which they seem to be giving a sort of tit-for-tat, running each other down really indirectly, has become almost intolerable."

Andrew Morton, whose book *Diana: Her True Story* first exposed the Wales's unhappy marriage, was more supportive of the Princess but said she needed a new life.

"I believe many of her friends want her to move on - move out of Kensington Palace, make a new life for herself and finally divorce Prince Charles," Mr Morton said. "The longer she stays inside Kensington Palace the longer she goes on hurting herself."

He said she had always thought Charles would never be

King. "She has always thought he would be better off going to Tuscany, a place he loves, with Camilla, marrying Camilla, and having a farm there."

Viscount Towyndy, the former House of Commons Speaker George Thomas, who read the lesson at the Royal couple's wedding, admitted he sobbed at the *Panorama* programme.

He said: "It was the saddest sight, the saddest story I've ever heard. I sat there and shed a tear as I watched that young woman opening

her heart and thoughts to us all."

The romantic novelist Dame Barbara Cartland said she thought her step-granddaughter's speech was "brilliant, exactly what was wanted... I think the public thinks she's wonderful".

But Dame Barbara refused to comment on a possible divorce between the couple. "I cannot answer that - you'll have to ask her. She's had a very very difficult time. She said she wanted to be Queen of Love, and she loves my books."

A divorced Diana could not be Queen

STEVE BOGGAN

A divorce between the Prince and Princess of Wales would have no constitutional effect other than to prevent the Princess from ever becoming Queen.

According to leading constitutional experts, there is no legal obstacle to divorce and nothing to prevent the Prince of Wales from re-marrying if ministers agree.

In his book *The Monarchy and the Constitution*, Vernon Bogdanor, Reader in Government at Oxford University, says: "A divorce between the Prince and Princess of Wales would prevent the Princess of Wales becoming Queen, since she would no longer be the wife of the King; but it would have no other constitutional consequence. The sovereign is, admittedly, the Supreme Governor of the Church of England but this imposes no statutory requirements."

"In December 1992, the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that: 'The Monarch is Supreme Governor... by virtue of being the sovereign; there is no other legal requirement.'"

Divorce, therefore, would not be an impediment. Mr Bogdanor points out that in 1714 George I succeeded to the throne although divorced and he argues that, unlike in the abdication crisis of 1936, the Church of England now sometimes sees divorce as "a regrettable necessity".

The remarriage of a divorced

heir to the throne poses more difficult problems, since the heir is subject to the Royal Marriages Act 1772, which requires that the Prince would need the consent of the Queen which, in turn, would have to be given on the advice of the Prime Minister.

However, since clergymen



Bogdanor: Prince Charles could remarry after a divorce

are given more discretion in the marriage of divorced people and the ordination of divorcees, Mr Bogdanor concludes that it would be unlikely that the Prince should be denied rights granted to other people.

Once he has become King the Act does not apply and there would be no legal bar preventing him from marrying.

Lord Blake, the constitutional historian, said that if the Queen were to die, the Princess of Wales would become Queen

Consort automatically under the law.

"There would be no constitutional problem in the prince re-marrying," he said. The Prince's new wife would become the Princess of Wales. "I don't think that the monarchy is in any serious danger because of this episode."

"The monarchy in Britain is a very tough institution. An institution which can survive Henry VIII and George IV and Edward VIII can survive a lot."

Whether the couple will divorce is another matter. The Palace yesterday said there had been no change since last October when lawyers for the Prince and Princess issued a joint statement denying that divorce had been contemplated.

There was a feeling yesterday, however, that the present situation could not continue.

Speaking on the BBC's *Today* programme, Lord Blake said: "What I saw [in the *Panorama* interview] confirms me in the view that the sooner they get divorced the better."

"The present situation in which they seem to be giving a sort of tit-for-tat, running each other down really indirectly, has become almost intolerable."

Lord St John of Fawley, a former Leader of the House of Commons, said: "The important thing now is for a constructive, recommitment-free dialogue between all the parties to re-define her royal, national and constitutional role. As always magnanimity will be right and bring its own rewards."



Centre of attention: Princess Diana leaving the Hale Clinic in London yesterday

Photograph: Glenn Harvey

Hewitt shuts up shop in the face of high treason

IAN MACKINNON

For a man who, theoretically at least, was facing the gallows, James Hewitt was yesterday putting a remarkably brave face on his predicament.

As the man who committed adultery with the wife of the heir to the throne, as the Princess of Wales confirmed in her explosively candid *Panorama* interview, the former Life Guards captain could be accused of treason.

The 1351 Treason Act provides that "if a man do violate... the wife of the King's (Queen's) eldest son and heir" he commits high treason.

There could be some debate as to whether consensual sex with Princess Diana was tantamount to "violation". But a prosecution must be brought within three years of the offence, and conviction leaves no room for debate under the 1695 Treason Act: "death by hanging".

The former officer, who left the army after he failed the routine exams that would have made him a major had already laid bare their affair last year.



James Hewitt: Book told his side of the story

In league with the former *Daily Express* feature writer, Anna Pasternak, he revealed the depth of their affair which began after he gave the Princess riding lessons in Hyde Park.

The book, *Princess in Love*, much criticised for its purple prose, told he was her "lover" and had the letters written to him during the Gulf war to prove it.

He met the Princess at a par-

ty in 1987 during a period when Prince Charles was at Balmoral and the married couple did not see one another for a period of 39 days.

It is not entirely clear when the affair began and ended, but it lasted a number of years and was charted over the 191 pages of a book which lacked the shock value of Andrew Morton's *Diana: Her True Story*.

But by the time of the Gulf war the Princess's friendship towards him had cooled and he became desperate and careless, borrowing a tahoild newspaper's satellite telephone to make calls to her, apparently uncaring as to who heard him.

He had been pressed to tell his story many times, but in the wake of Prince Charles's admission of adultery he was eventually persuaded to talk to Ms Pasternak who made hundreds of thousands of pounds, some of which is thought to have been passed to Mr Hewitt.

It was this hurt of the betrayal that the Princess talked so movingly of in the interview. "He was a great friend of mine at a very difficult, yet another difficult time... and I was ab-

solutely devastated when this book appeared. It was very distressing for me that a friend of mine, who I trusted, had made money out of me."

She derided much of the material in the book as "fantasy", but confirmed that they had an affair. Asked if she had been unfaithful, she said: "Yes, I loved him. I was in love with him."

On all of this, though, Mr Hewitt yesterday refused to pass comment as he was besieged by journalists at his manor house at Bratton Clovelly, near Okehampton, on Dartmoor.

A police officer, acting Inspector Sarah Curtis, went inside the six-bedroomed Georgian house and studied a map of Mr Hewitt's estate with him to ensure the journalists were not on his property.

Emerging from the house she said: "I found him in good spirits. His mother Shirley was there. We were called because of his concern about journalists being on his private property. Mr Hewitt has no intention of making a release [to the media]."

'Sincerity and candour' triumph in the sitting-rooms of the nation

As the public delivered its post-*Panorama* verdict on the Princess of Wales, it became clear she had won the sympathy vote, particularly among women.

The *Independent* asked people in Glasgow, Yorkshire, Bristol and London how they felt about Diana's television performance, whether the couple should divorce, who is to blame, and whether Prince Charles is fit to be King.

Most Glaswegians agreed that Princess Diana was right to give her account of her troubled marriage and women in particular welcomed her candour in describing her humiliation, and post-natal depression.

Vi Allen, a "Royalist pensioner", said: "Diana was the sort of person ordinary people

could relate to. But the royals could not see the benefits of that. Instead of resenting her success and later becoming angry at her illness, they should have done more to keep her in the heart of the family." Like many, Mrs Allen said she shared the princess's belief that Prince Charles should relinquish his right to the succession in favour of his eldest son.

Brian Lang, 40, a computer systems analyst, also from Glasgow, echoed criticisms of Prince Charles. "The Prince and Diana fell in love. They married. To this day she insists she loved him throughout their marriage but during that time he began to see another woman - Camilla Parker Bowles. That is no way for an heir to conduct himself. He is not worthy of the throne."

Eileen Armstrong, 64, from the East End of London, was gripped by the Princess's sincerity. "I think she is a loving, caring person who was very sincere. Charles must be mad to turn her down for the person he has chosen," Shelley Johnson, 33, a housewife, said. "The programme showed the true person she was - bitter and twisted. I think she is going to use her kids to get what she wants out of the Royal Family," she said.

Kim Ali, 27, a single mother from Stepney, was among the majority who considered Charles unfit to reign. "He couldn't stand up to the pressures from the Royal Family and the media," she said. "He could have been stronger and helped Diana to keep it together."

In south Yorkshire, Diana won over a sceptical public. "I'm not into royalty, but we know quite a bit more about them now," said Herbert Hallows, a 56-year-old Sheffield crane driver. "If you don't get along with the Royal Family, you're out."

Vicky Stamp and Anita Purcell, young mothers, were both struck by her "terrible" relationships with the in-laws. "I wouldn't stick with it," Ms Purcell said. "I'd get a divorce."

In Bristol, Sally Pinto, 37, a restaurant owner, said: "I think she has had a raw deal from Charles and I think the country knows that. He doesn't come across as a very sympathetic husband."

Interviews by: Jonathan Foster, John Arledge, Michael Prestage and Clare Garner

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DIANA - THE AFTERMATH

Role as ambassador
'must involve Palace'COLIN BROWN
Chief Political Correspondent

The Princess of Wales would have to accept the constraints of the Palace if she took on a role as an ambassador for Britain.

Nicholas Soames, a former equestrian to the Prince of Wales, said yesterday.

Speaking to The Independent, Mr Soames said the Princess of Wales could not operate as a "freelance". He said: "She cannot have it both ways."

Downing Street made it clear Mr Soames, the Minister for the Armed Forces, was speaking not for the Government, and in a personal capacity. But his words clearly chimed with the Palace's view.

He said it was a "travesty" for the Princess of Wales to suggest that Prince Charles may not become King.

Divorce between Prince Charles and the Princess of Wales may now be inevitable and the best course of action, Mr Soames added.

"Clearly their marriage has irretrievably broken down. You

don't need to be a brain surgeon to see that. The matter of divorce may be inevitable and in everyone's best interest.

"Having said that, it is clearly an intensely personal decision for the two people concerned and they should be allowed to do so in private. What passed last night was terribly sad. One questions the motives of the Princess of Wales.

"What the Princess of Wales clearly wants to do is get on with her life, and his duties. If you look at the work, the Princess Trust, they are at the heart of the service that the Monarchy has rendered to the nation.

"What I hope is a role will be found for her where her undoubted talents and skills can be put to the use of the nation. We all hope that but she will have to operate within the constraints of an orderly operation. You cannot be just a freelance. She cannot have it both ways.

"One has to ask why did she give this interview. I don't know what she was hoping to achieve. I think the sting in the tail was the suggestion that the Prince of Wales was in some way not

likely to accept the constraints of Monarchy. It is outrageous and an absolute travesty.

"For the Prince of Wales to be King is not an occupation. It is his duty, to which he has been born, which he takes extremely seriously, for which he has prepared himself. Anyone who knows Prince Charles knows such a suggestion is a travesty."

In the immediate aftermath of the Panorama programme, Mr Soames said the Princess appeared to be suffering from "advanced stages of paranoia" over her accusations that she was being hounded by the security and intelligence services.

Mr Soames insisted among friends yesterday that her account of the Palace was a fantasy, and that at the time, she was clearly ill. Mr Soames, although known to be a close friend of the Prince, has rarely stepped forward to publicly speak on his behalf.

His intervention yesterday underlined the seriousness of the crisis facing the Palace. He was accused by Labour of "meddling" in royal matters following his outspoken attack

on the Princess of Wales.

He was accused of "blustering" and helping to prove the Princess's suspicions.

But Downing Street stood by his account. The Prime Minister's office said the allegations had been investigated, and denied the security and intelligence were involved.

Mr Soames, who has remarried, said: "I do know great sadness when I see it. When people claim that they have enemies at every turn and are spied on at every corner, I know of no other word for that other than paranoia."

"I do think this extraordinary obsession and the picture that is painted of Buckingham Palace and the people who run it is wholly unrecognisable. It's just a fantasy."

Labour's constitutional affairs spokesman Doug Henderson said Mr Soames had overstepped his ministerial responsibilities.

"He is entitled to make his views known, but I think it was indecorous for him to state them so forcefully and publicly," Mr Henderson said.

'Bunter' - the top drawer Tory who is the Prince's closest ally

COLIN BROWN

Downing Street last night dismissed demands by two Labour MPs for the sacking of Nicholas Soames.

Mr Soames, a hoisterous, top-drawer Tory, dismayed even some of his friends by describing the Princess of Wales as suffering from the "advanced stages of paranoia". But his dismissal would rob the Government of one of its most endearing ministers.

He was the living embodiment of Bunter until he went onto a crash diet. The former Minister for Food, who was once called the Crawley Food Mountain by Tony Banks, the Labour MP, has shed a couple of stones, but has lost none of his natural bonhomie.

A life-long friend of the Prince of Wales, it was second nature to him to come out



fighting for Prince Charles after the Panorama revelations. Yesterday, he was privately mortified at suggestions that he had proved there was a Palace conspiracy against the Princess of Wales by accusing her of "the

advanced stages of paranoia". But publicly he was not withdrawing a word.

Mr Soames, a former equestrian to Prince Charles, is an unshakable ally and has remained close to the heir to the throne throughout the crisis over the Royal marriage.

As a former guards officer, his speech is peppered with military phrases. Defending the Government's decision to offer Greenwich Naval College to private tender, he said anyone putting forward a proposal to the historic buildings into a hotel would be told to "sugar off pretty damn quick".

He has a penchant for yellow socks, and loud suits at weekends. He regales friends with stories, including the time he went to his tailor and chose a particularly outlandish check for a suit. "It would be very good for a cap, sir," said the tailor.

His rumbustious behaviour in the Commons harmed his climb up the greasy pole of promotion. He once shouted across at John Prescott, the Labour deputy leader, and a former ferry steward, "A gin and tonic for me Giovanni, and a whisky for my friend."

He has infuriated Labour MPs, but few bear him a grudge. His pal is Denis McShane, the Labour MP for Rotherham, and, in spite of being saddled with the reputation as a lover of food, he is great friends with Mr Banks, whom he introduced to his mother.

Schooled at Eton, the son of Lord (once Christopher) Soames and grandson of Sir Winston Churchill. He unsuccessfully fought Central Dumfriesshire in 1979, but was elected as member for Crawley in 1983. He is now on the "chicken run" to a safer seat.

21 million tuned in to watch

MARIANNE MACDONALD
Media Correspondent

More than 21 million people watched the Princess of Wales confess adultery last night - six million more than switched on last year to watch Prince Charles admit his own affair with Camilla Parker-Bowles.

The BBC said Panorama's hour-long interview peaked at 23 million viewers shortly after it began and averaged 21.1m.

The figures are exceptional compared with the transmission of most other royal landmarks on television, although they number only half the 39 million who tuned in to watch Charles and Diana marry in July 1981.

Perhaps surprisingly, the number of viewers was not hugely higher than the 19 million who regularly tune in to Coronation Street - a far less lurid soap opera than that provided by the Wales's marriage.

But the Princess of Wales won hands down compared with the Queen's speech last Christmas, which won 15.7 million viewers, and against last night's News at Ten, which got a pitiful 2.3 million - at least a third less than usual.

ITV was quick to emphasise that Cracker responded amazingly well to Panorama's challenge on BBC1, with an average 10.5 million viewers, about five million less than usual.

Panorama staff refused to comment as the fall-out from the Princess's extraordinary interview with Martin Bashir continued. Marmaduke Hussey, the chairman of the governors, who was kept in the dark about the programme, was also silent.

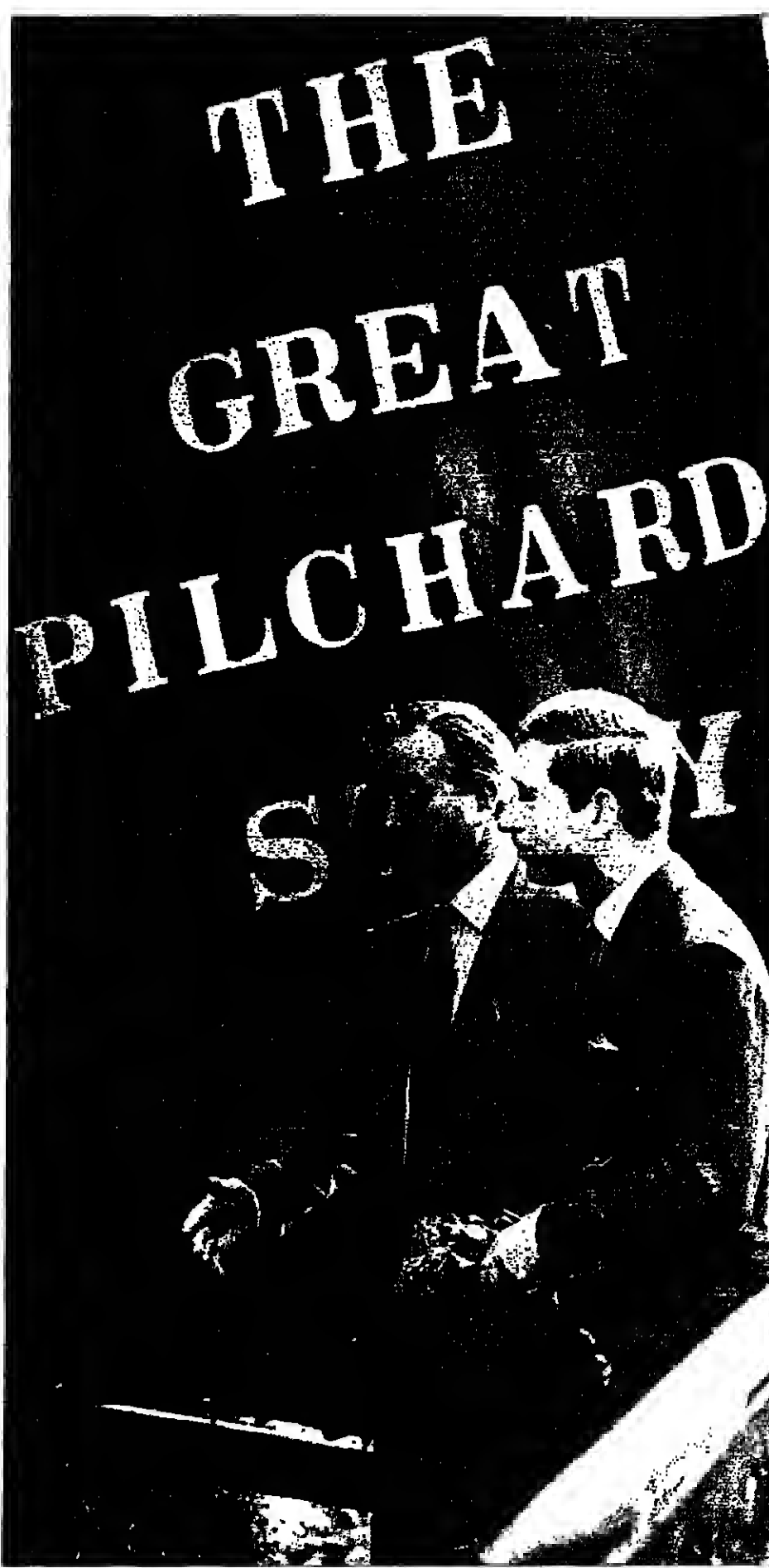
However, he is understood not to be angered by the deception which now allows him to distance himself from the issue.

A source close to Panorama revealed that the interview was edited in a Eastbourne hotel after being recorded in the dining room of the Princess's Kensington Palace apartment on Guy Fawkes night.

Three days later an elite

group from the BBC travelled to watch it at the seaside resort. They were Tim Gardam, head of weekly programmes at news and current affairs, Richard Ayre, the controller of editorial policy, Richard Peel, head of communications for news and current affairs, Tony Hall, managing director of news and current affairs, Steve Hewlett, the editor of Panorama, and Mr Bashir.

While the BBC denied that the interview was rehearsed, sources conceded that discussions had taken place with the Princess prior to filming during which she gained a clear idea of the questions she would be asked.



The great pilchard hunt: Prince Charles steps out during a visit to a factory in the Cornish fishing port of Newlyn yesterday. Photograph: James Vellacott

Quest of Prince and the pilchard factory

IAN MACKINNON

Even as the full significance of the Princess of Wales's Panorama interview was still sinking in, her husband was hoarding the royal train for Cornwall.

The Prince of Wales pressed ahead with his programme to visit the fishing port of Newlyn, where he was confronted by hoards of journalists anxious to discover his view of the Princess's remarks on their marriage.

But when asked whether he had watched the devastating television interview as he visited the British Cured Pilchards factory, he gave no clear reply to the question.

When a reporter shouted from the crowd, asking if he had watched television, the Prince turned, straight-faced and responded, puzzlingly: "Not yours." He then walked away without saying any more.

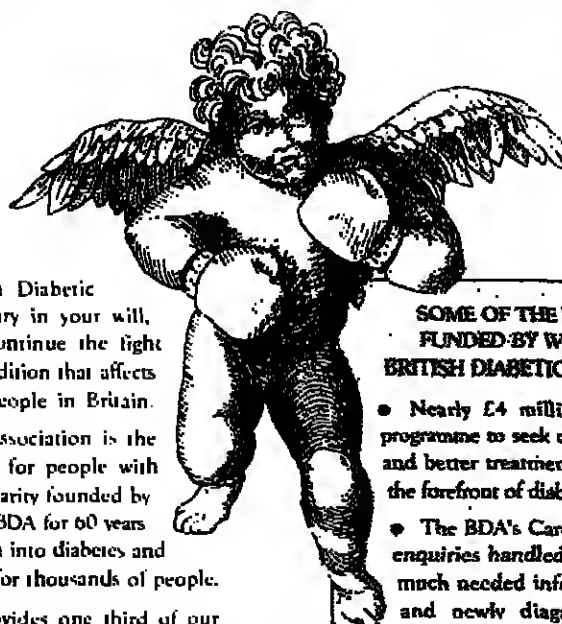
The Queen, on the other hand, had only to contend with the more genteel surroundings of Buckingham Palace and about 500 of her loyal subjects in the wake of her daughter-in-law's attack on the monarchy itself.

For her, the routine of the morning was taken up with the investiture of 130 people, accompanied by nearly 300 friends and relatives.

Among those full of praise for the Queen's commitment was the veteran BBC rugby union commentator, Bill McLaren. The Queen was smiling and talking happily as she invested him with his OBE for services to broadcasting and Rugby Union. "She's on super form," he said.

While the interview was being broadcast on Monday evening, Princess Diana attended a £1,000-a-head dinner to raise money for a cancer charity at Bridgewater House. But yesterday she was nowhere to be seen.

She did not even follow her usual routine of her morning exercise at the Chelsea Harbour Club, in London, beloved of the massed paparazzi who daily snap her in sweatshirt and trainers.

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• Constant campaigning on behalf of people with diabetes - for example arguing for the right of people with diabetes to choose the kind of insulin that best suits them

• Informative magazine 'Balance' produced for members six times a year

• Highly successful awareness campaign of the symptoms of diabetes has ensured that many people are promptly diagnosed

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The Prince & Princess of Wales: what they said and how they differ

	HRH PRINCESS OF WALES	HRH PRINCE OF WALES
ON DIVORCE	"I don't want a divorce, but obviously we need clarity on a situation that has been of enormous discussion over the last three years in particular. So all I say to that is that I await my husband's decision of which way we are all going to go... I would obviously discuss it with him but up to date neither of us has discussed this subject."	"That sort of question is very much in future and if it happens then it will happen. It's not a consideration in my mind and, anyway, it's something very personal between my wife and myself."
ON ADULTERY	In response to whether she was unfaithful with James Hewitt: "Yes, I adored him. Yes, I was in love with him. But I was very let down."	He remained "absolutely" faithful "until [the marriage] became irrevocably broken down, us both having tried."
ON CAMILLA PARKER-BOWLES	"Well, there were three of us in this marriage, so it was a bit crowded."	"She has been a friend for a very long time and, along with other friends, will continue to be a friend for a very long time."
ON CHARLES BECOMING KING	"There was always conflict on that subject when we discussed it and I understood that conflict because it's a very demanding role being Prince of Wales, but it's more demanding being King, and being Prince of Wales produces more freedom now and being King would be a little bit more suffocating. And because I know the character, I would think that the top job, as I call it, would bring enormous limitations to him and I don't know whether he could adapt to that."	"As far as I'm concerned, in the ordinary course of events, that is what would happen. And I mean, all my life I've been brought up, you know to, as I say, to do my utmost to try and carry out my duty to the country and to everybody else as well as possible. "I don't see why [divorce] should be any impediment."
ON THE MEDIA	"I seemed to be on the front of a newspaper every day, with an isolating experience, and the higher the media put you, the bigger the drop."	"It's clearly much easier to invent all this and say that. It's all come from some close friend or some member of the staff and it's all rubbish."
ON MARRYING INTO THE ROYAL FAMILY	"No-one sat me down with a piece of paper and said 'This is what is expected of you'. But there again, I'm lucky enough in the fact that I have found my role, and I'm very conscious of it and I love being with people."	"I do think those people who marry into my family find it increasingly difficult to do so because of all the added pressure and finding that they're put into positions which they are simply not trained for and the strains and stresses that become in some cases almost intolerable."
ON THE FUTURE OF THE MONARCHY	"I would like a monarchy that has more contact with its people - and I don't mean by riding round bicycles and things like that, but just having a more in depth understanding."	"If everything came entirely based on politics, I think this country would lose a great deal." On the bicycle riding royals of other European monarchies, he said: "I still think there is such a thing as good taste and bad taste, and I believe in good taste - and it's a matter of that, I think, more than anything else."

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The latest Bond film, GoldenEye, is released on Friday. For your future entertainment, the new BMW Z3 roadster will be available next summer. For more information call 0800 325 600.

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THE ULTIMATE DRIVING MACHINE

The Rosen Chart

WILL SHIRLEY

Shirley Rosen, 40, is a former model and actress who has been married to her husband, Fred West, for 10 years. She is the mother of two children, a son and a daughter. She is also a former member of the Church of Scientology.

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The Rosemary West trial: Jury delivers verdict of guilty on murders of daughter, step-daughter and young drifter

Charmaine, aged eight, was the first to die

WILL BENNETT

Heather West, Charmaine West and Shirley Robinson had three things in common. They were all for different reasons part of the West household, they did not get on with Rosemary West and they all suffered the same fate.

Yesterday Rosemary was convicted of murdering all of them. The remains of Heather and Shirley were found at the Wests' home, 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, while Charmaine's skeleton was dug up at their former home in the city, 25 Midland Road.

Heather was her daughter, Charmaine was her husband Fred's step-daughter from his first marriage and Shirley was a drifter from a broken home who went to live at 25 Cromwell Street.

Charmaine was the first to die, disappearing at the age of eight in 1971. She was daughter of Rena West - West's first wife, whom he later admitted murdering - by another man. When West met Rosemary in 1969 he was looking after Charmaine. The couple went to live

Shirley flaunted her relationship with Fred West. But his wife began to grow jealous

at 25 Midland Road in 1970 and the girl went to live with them as did Anne Marie, Rena's daughter by West.

In November 1970 Fred West was arrested for dishonesty offences and later sent to prison for ten months. Mrs West was only 17 and was left to look after Rena's two daughters and Heather, her first child by West, who was then a small baby.

The jury at Winchester Crown Court was told by Brian Leveson QC, for the prosecution, that "there is clear evidence that Charmaine was greatly disliked by Rosemary West" because she loathed the child's rebellious nature.

One day Tracey Giles, Charmaine's best friend who lived

next door, was sent by her mother to the Wests to borrow a pint of milk. She walked in and saw Charmaine standing on a chair with her hands tied behind her back with a belt.

Rosemary West was holding a large wooden spoon and looked as though she was about to hit her. When Tracey's mother later asked her about it she said that Charmaine had been naughty and had to be punished.

Charmaine disappeared about June 1971 and the prosecution alleged that Fred West was still in prison when she vanished. Anne Marie Davis, Charmaine's half-sister, told the court that one day she came home from school and was told by Mrs West that Charmaine had gone to live with her mother.

She said that at the time her father was still in prison and that she and Mrs West went to visit him there after Charmaine had vanished.

When Tracey Giles later asked where Charmaine was, Mrs West said: "Gone to live with her mother and bloody good riddance." In fact she was buried at 25 Midland Road.

Shirley Robinson was a lodger at 25 Cromwell Street when she disappeared aged 18 in May 1978. She was pregnant by Fred West and when her remains were found at the house last year the bones of an unborn child were with them.

She came from a broken home and moved into Cromwell Street about April 1977. She began a sexual relationship with Fred West and the court was also told that she had lesbian sex with Mrs West.

She flaunted her relationship with West and they were often to be seen hugging and kissing. Mr Leveson told the jury that Rosemary West's initial acceptance of this turned to jealousy and there was tension in the house.

Elizabeth Brewer, a lodger at Cromwell Street, said that Shirley was frightened of the Wests and that one day she returned to find Shirley had vanished.

She told the court that Mrs West was in the house that day and that Fred West and the lodgers were probably out at work.

She said that the next day the Wests seemed very happy and told her that Shirley had gone



Charmaine West, aged 8.

The daughter of Rena, Frederick West's first wife, and another man believed to be an Asian bus driver. In and out of care after her mother and West split up. A rebellious, strong-willed child who was disliked by Rosemary West.

Last seen in June 1971 while West may still have been in prison. Rosemary said that she had gone to live with her mother. Her remains were found at 25 Midland Road, Gloucester, the Wests' former home, on 4th May 1994.

to live with relatives in Germany.

The remains of Heather, the Wests' oldest daughter, were the first to be found at Cromwell Street last year. She was 16 when she disappeared in 1987

and police later became suspicious when they could find no trace of her. Mr Leveson said: "It is quite clear that there were growing frictions between the Wests and their oldest daughter. This may have been



Shirley Robinson, aged 18.

Born in Leicestershire, she was the daughter of a British father and a German mother. Like many of the Wests' victims she was from a broken home. She was eight months pregnant by Fred West when she disappeared in May 1978.

Rosemary became jealous because West was so fond of Shirley and tension rose. She was never reported missing, and friends were told she had gone to Germany to visit relatives. A foetus was found alongside her remains in the Cromwell Street garden.



Heather West, aged 16.

The victim who began the murder inquiry. She was Frederick and Rosemary West's eldest daughter. There was growing friction between Heather and her parents. She was last seen in June 1987. Her parents' explanations included a claim that she had eloped with a lesbian. Police became suspicious when they could find no trace of her.

Detectives arrived at 25 Cromwell Street with a warrant to search for her remains on 24th February 1994.

and another that she had left home after assaulting the younger children when she was baby-sitting.

Mrs West said that she had spoken to Heather on the telephone after she left home. But

when the police went to 25 Cromwell Street with a search warrant in February last year they found Heather's remains buried in the garden. She had been dismembered, like Shirley Robinson.

Call for national body to oversee health decisions

GLENDA COOPER

Health care should be a "right" of citizenship rather than "matter of privilege or luck", and a national commission must be set up to make decisions consistent across the country, according to a left-wing think-tank.

Anna Cootie, deputy director of the Institute for Public Policy Research, told the Health Choices in Health Care conference yesterday that "explicit rationing" in the National Health Service was "being done more openly by different people and more intensively than in the past".

She added: "The truth is the treatment that is available in one area may not be available in another. What one authority provides another denies.

Health provision is a lottery with different services available in different areas. What you get can depend on where you live rather than what you need."

She said that the case of Jaymee Bowen (child B) was not an isolated one. "Decisions like these are being taken every day by unelected, unaccountable health authorities. The weight of these decisions places an unfair burden on the professions at local level. What we need is a strong clear framework for decision-making to guide and support clinicians and managers, one that the public can understand."

A national health commission would represent all stakeholders in the health service: doctors, nurses, ethicists, economists, social scientists and the public.

It would define equitable effective and efficient treatments and would work out how the balance between them could be achieved. It would also address questions about the boundary between health and social care, the role of central government and local flexibility. While not creating an absolute list of which treatments will or will not be provided "it must be clear enough to offer meaningful guidance and flexible to deal with the range of individual cases and the pace of medical developments and change," said Joanne Lenaghan, health policy researcher at the IPPR.

Harriet Harman, Labour's health spokesman, added: "There is general agreement that dissemination of information about treatments should be as quick as possible and put into practice as quickly as possible and it is clear that it should be led from the centre."

The IPPR also supports the use of "citizens juries" - 12-25 members of the public who meet for about five days to deliberate policy. They have already been used in America and Germany to decide issues such as whether a new road should be built as well as assessing new policies for health and welfare.

"They are presented with enough information so they can make informed decisions," Miss Lenaghan said. "Jurors are not asked to give a simple yes or no. This is not a jury in the OJ Simpson mould ... If a national health commission is set up citizens juries could have an input into [its] work."

Labour names all-women seat

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES
Political Correspondent

The east London seat of Bethnal Green and Bow has been named as the final constituency in England and Wales to be forced to draw up a women-only shortlist to choose its Labour parliamentary candidate.

The move, first mooted amid fierce controversy six months ago, brings to 10 the number of constituencies that have had all-women lists imposed on them. It marks the completion of the operation of the quota policy in the current parliament.

The scheme has set Labour on course to achieving around 90 women MPs at the next general election, but it has proved highly controversial.

A proposal in May to insist on a women-only list in the new east London seat caused a storm of protest among some local activists because the selection of a successor to Peter Shore, the retiring MP for the existing Bethnal Green & Stepney, had already begun, while the procedure would have the

effect of excluding Asian male applicants in an area with the highest concentration of Bangladeshis in the country.

An embarrassed Labour Party was then forced to disavow a London regional executive committee recommendation to stretch the rules by drawing up an all-black women-only list. A local Bengali woman applicant, Pola Uddin, deputy leader of the local council, Tower Hamlets, appeared to have strong backing among senior party figures.

Rajan Lalal, a councillor and another would-be applicant, said yesterday: "I think it's ... an insult to local democracy. The constituency held a special ballot on this issue. More than 85 per cent of the membership supported an open list."

Tory plea for Naval College

A senior Tory yesterday urged the Government not to allow the historic Royal Naval College at Greenwich to "suffer a similar fate" as the axed Greater London Council's County Hall.

The question time call by Sir Patrick Cormack, the Staffordshire South MP, came after Tony Banks, Labour MP for Newham North West and the GLC's chairman when it was axed in 1986, said its former headquarters building on the Thames opposite Westminster was now "an empty shell from the second floor upwards" and protested it was a "scandal" and a "catastrophe".

Sir Patrick asked John Gummer, Secretary of State for the Environment: "Would you assure the House that Greenwich and the glorious buildings there will not suffer a similar fate?"

Michael Portillo, the Secretary of State for Defence, has said the college will be offered to a commercial buyer - but promised it would not become a supermarket, golf course or hotel. Mr Gummer told Sir Patrick: "I am quite sure that the

plans to try to make that exciting world heritage site even better will in fact proceed as well as they possibly can with the largest amount of partnership possible."

The college was designed by Sir Christopher Wren 300 years ago. Mr Portillo insisted earlier this year that, despite offer a 150-year lease, it would continue to be held in trust for the Crown by the Secretary of State for Defence.

Earlier, Mr Banks told the House that County Hall's present owner, the Japanese Shiyama Corporation, proposed to put an aquarium in the basement, but he said it had not yet applied for a licence or approached the Department of the Environment with plans. "The whole thing is a catastrophe over there. It is a scandal and the Government is entirely responsible for this," Mr Banks said, and he warned ministers: "When Labour is in government we are going to hang this round your neck."

Mr Gummer said: "We are keeping a very close eye on it."

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news

IN BRIEF

High Court to rule on Virgin TV challenge

The High Court will rule today on whether Virgin TV can seek judicial review of the controversial Channel 5 award, made last month by the Independent Television Commission.

The Virgin consortium, whose backers include Richard Branson's Virgin Group, Associated Newspapers and two television companies, claims the ITC acted unfairly in failing the Virgin TV bid on quality grounds.

Courthouse blast

A small explosion outside a courthouse at Omagh in Co Tyrone, which left a security guard needing treatment for shock, was not terrorist-linked. It is understood gunpowder was used to trigger the blast as a police traffic cone was being moved from outside the building.

OFT wins backing

Michael Heseltine, the Deputy Prime Minister, dismissed claims by a Labour MP that the Office of Fair Trading had failed in its duties to regulate the cable and satellite industry. Richard Caborn had demanded a Monopolies and Mergers Commission investigation after claiming the OFT had proved ineffective in controlling Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB station.

Trekke by degree

A university student is set to boldly go where no student has gone before and learn the Klingon language for her degree. Anita Karr, 32, a *Star Trek* fan, is delving into the alien tongue used by Captain Kirk's enemies as part of a dissertation for her degree in applied languages at Portsmouth University.

Restaurants 'should abolish tipping'

GLENDA COOPER

Tips and service charges should be abolished in restaurants as they often leave customers with a sour taste at the end of an evening, the Consumers' Association said yesterday.

Unwelcome charges can add as much as 15 per cent to a meal - and the association's call came as the Earl of Bradford introduced a Private Member's Bill into the House of Lords to sweep away the "absurd unjustified" anomaly.

Lord Bradford, the owner of Porters restaurant in Covent Garden, wants restaurants to

charge fully inclusive prices, with notice that staff do not expect anything in the way of a tip or a gratuity. Exceptional service could still be rewarded.

The Bill would also outlaw cover charges, unless they included specific entertainment, and make restaurants fill in credit slips in full so diners aren't misled into paying twice.

At present, there are four different ways in which restaurants can charge for service. They can incorporate a charge for service and VAT into their prices, add a percentage charge for service, add a percentage for "option-

al" gratuity on to the bill or say that service is not included, leaving it to the customer's discretion.

Restaurants usually charge between 10 and 12.5 per cent for service, but the *Good Food Guide* 1996 lists 19 restaurants which charge 15 per cent for service, adding £4.50 to a £30 bill.

Such restaurants include Au Jardin des Gourmets, which the *Guide* describes as "one of Soho's bastions of culinary tradition". The Connaught Mayfair "there is nothing wrong with this wonderful restaurant except for the prices" and Neal Street Restaurant, Covent Garden

"varies according to member of staff you deal with but comes in at 15 per cent anyway".

Confusion about whether you can refuse to pay a service charge is rife, said a Consumers' Association spokeswoman.

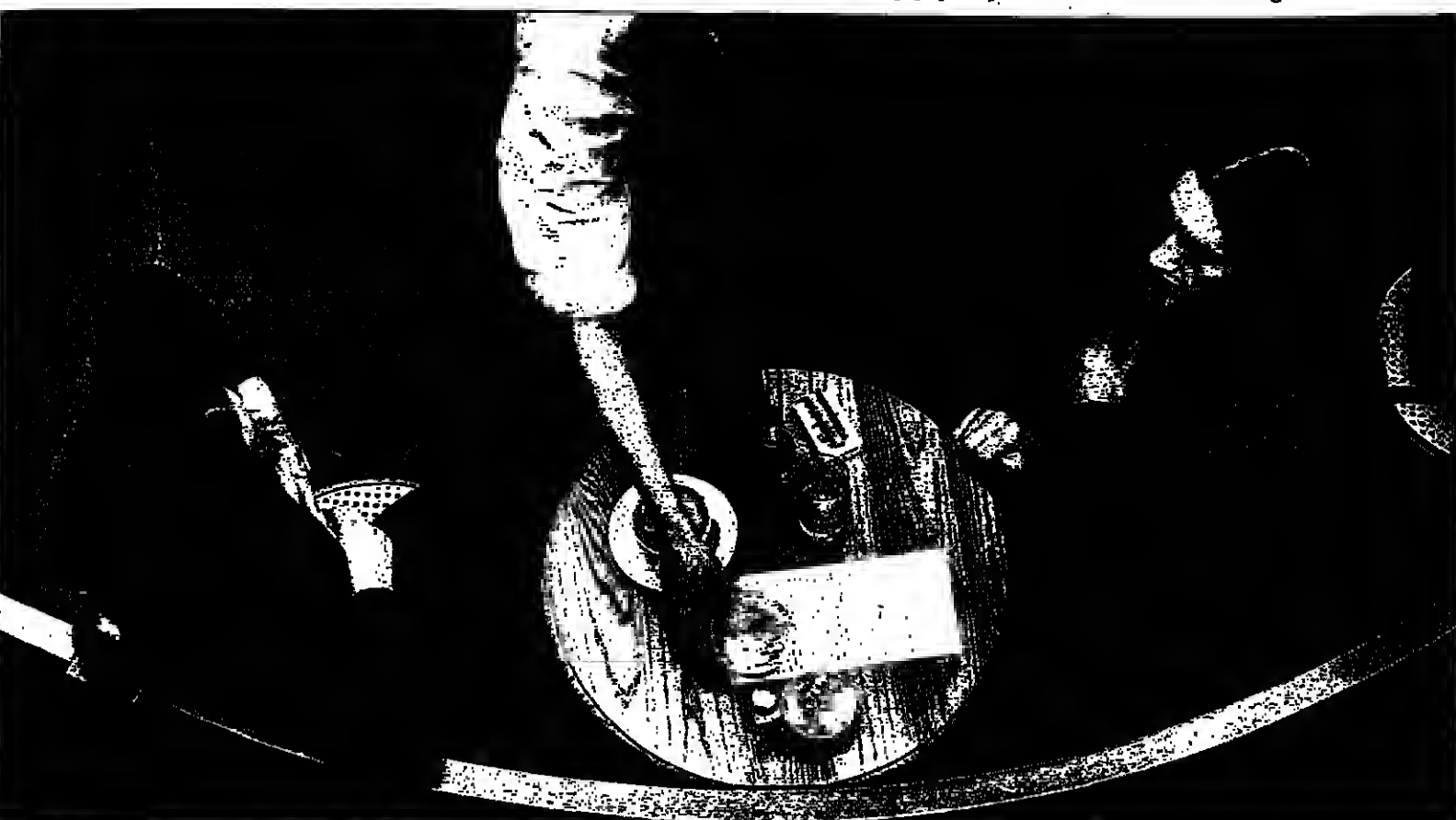
At present, if service is at the customer's discretion, you do not have to pay anything. If it is included in the bill - and it has said so on the menu - you cannot withhold payment without good reason, such as the service not being up to scratch.

The association claims the answer is for menus to be written on the "what you see is what you pay" principle, with all-inclusive

prices. "Service is one of the things you go into a restaurant for - it ought to be good," said Helen Parker, editor of *Which?* "Singing out service for special payment is absurd."

"Buy something in a shop and a shop assistant wouldn't accept a tip. Restaurant charges are an unjustified anomaly."

David Harrold, chief executive of the Restaurateurs' Association of Great Britain said he was in favour of cover charges being abolished and credit card slips being filled in, but that legislation was necessary for the abolition of the service charge to work.



Service sector: Customers being waited on at a restaurant in Covent Garden, central London, yesterday

Photograph: Edward Webb

Mr 10 Per Cent and the art of the gratuity

The Earl of Bradford's restaurant in Covent Garden still has the atmosphere of a discreet gentleman's club and, given the strength of his lordship's views, it seems the ideal place to learn the correct etiquette of tipping, writes Glenda Cooper.

Porters prides itself on English cooking including steak and kidney pie, chicken casserole, and spotted dick.

It conforms to the earl's ideals, the manager Neil Wornham insists. "There are no cover charges and credit card slips are filled in so the customer knows exactly what they're paying for," he said.

On the first page of the menu a square notice tells the customer that for parties of four and under service is not included. For larger parties a

discretionary charge of 10 per cent is put on the bill. Tips are not pooled but retained by individual waiters, whose weekly wage is about £100.

"I'd always tip 10 per cent - or 12.5 per cent if I'm feeling especially generous," recommended a portly gentleman on the next table, tucking into chicken and broccoli pie. "But I feel it's rather an anachronism

now. It doesn't mean service is excellent, it's just a habit. I think the whole system is nonsense."

"Yes, but you feel that waiters are probably paid so badly that if you don't you're punishing them unfairly," said Helen, 54, leaning across the apple and blackberry crumble. "If you didn't leave a tip because you feel the food's bad, well that's nothing to do with them."

As the portly gentleman asked for his bill he turned back: "If you want advice on how to tip correctly you should always remember whatever you tip it is never enough for the waiter. And if you're not satisfied don't leave a tip - but only if you can run very fast."

He turned to sign the bill, leaving, of course, a 10 per cent tip.

Girl, 14, 'critical' in meningitis outbreak

LIZ HUNT

Health Editor

A 14-year-old girl was fighting for her life in a Lincoln hospital last night, the seventh victim in two months of what doctors warn may be an extra-virulent strain of meningitis bacterium circulating in the city.

Two of Caroline East's schoolmates are among five people to have died in the largest British outbreak of meningitis for almost two years. A man, 40, is also critically ill in hospital with the disease.

Lincolnshire Education Authority yesterday closed the City School where the three girls were pupils, and sent home 743 children and staff while tests continued to locate the source of infection. Public health officials had previously taken throat swabs and distributed antibiotics.

Dr Michael Le Geyt, a consultant in communicable diseases for Lincolnshire Health Authority, who is leading the investigation said: "I am concerned because this is the largest number of deaths close together from what appears to be the same disease that I have seen for a very long time. It may be that we are dealing with a very aggressive form of the bug."

Geoff Deacon, of the education authority, said: "The reason for closing the school is to allow medical staff to carry out their tests... On Thursday evening we will get reports back from the health authority on the situation. We are still hoping to open the school on Friday."

Kelly Roberts, 15, was the first pupil to die from the meningococcal form of meningitis on 30 October. Sam Binns, also 15 and a pupil at the City School, died on Monday after becoming ill over the weekend with the same strain of the disease. Robert Newlin, 19, died a week ago. Ten-month-old Sam Cook and Alex Kypri, 19, a student, died in October.

Peter East, the step-father of Caroline who is on a ventilator

at Lincoln County Hospital, was keeping vigil by her bed last night. "She's a very, very sick girl but hopefully she has responded to the drugs they gave her in the night," he said. "The next hours are crucial. If she can maintain this level things may improve..."

"One moment she was full of life and enjoying a good hearty dinner and now she is fighting for her life. She started complaining of a sore throat on Sunday night. She was sick throughout the night. In the morning I checked a leaflet from the City School and realised she could have meningitis so it's thanks to the school that we got her to hospital as soon as we did... all we can do is wait and pray."

Ray Thompson of the National Meningitis Trust, urged parents in Lincoln not to panic, but advised them to be alert to possible symptoms.

"It is perfectly understandable that people, particularly parents at the school, are worried. I know it's a difficult situation but the fact does remain that meningitis is a very uncommon disease... What parents can do is watch out for symptoms of the disease, including vomiting, stiff neck, a high temperature, headaches, convulsions, spots, and a dislike of bright lights."

However, he added, "not all sufferers will get all of those symptoms. Unfortunately, there is no easy answer with meningitis. What we do know is sufferers become very ill very quickly and so speed is of the essence. Just get your child to hospital as fast as possible."

There were 1,623 cases of acute (bacterial) meningitis reported in 1994, according to the trust. About 10 per cent of these cases are usually fatal. In the general population, around 10 per cent carry the meningitis bacteria in their nose and throat with no ill effect.

* National Meningitis Trust 24-hour Helpline: 0345 538118.

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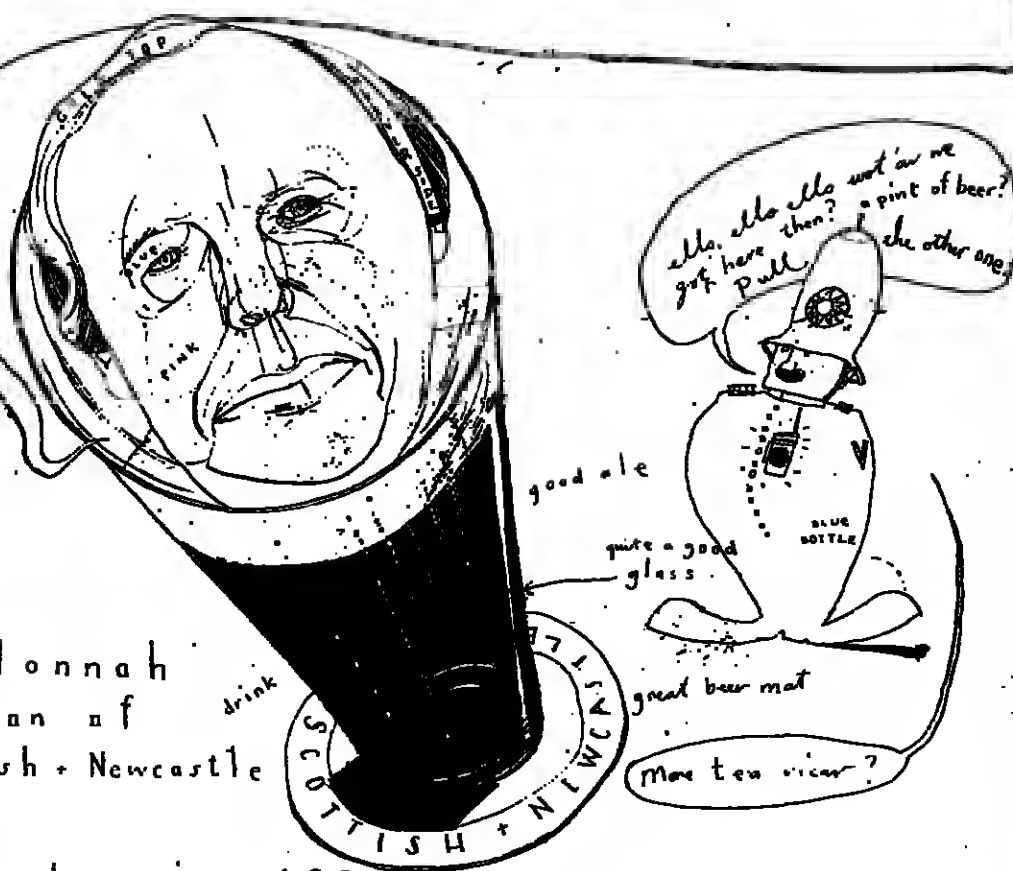
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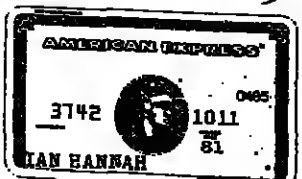


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news

Mobile-phone industry acts against 'clones'

DANNY PENMAN

The mobile-phone industry yesterday launched a campaign to try to make illegal the possession or supply of "cloning" equipment.

Phone cloning, or copying, costs the industry and consumers over £100m per year and is thought to be responsible for up to 40 per cent of car break-ins in city centres.

Cloning uses relatively simple equipment, such as radio scanners, much of which can be bought off the shelf in specialist electronics stores.

Using radio scanners, the fraudsters can intercept the supposedly secret electronic serial number (ESN) of the phone and also the subscriber number. Once these two pieces of information have been intercepted they can re-programme another phone, and, as far as the network operator is concerned, they are indistinguishable.

The cloned phone can be used until the victim notices the higher than normal phone bill or the network operator becomes aware that something is

amiss, such as two simultaneous calls from different parts of the country.

A spokesman for the Federation of Communication Services (FCS), the industry body mounting the Parliamentary campaign, described phone cloning as a "legal grey area".

"It's not illegal to re-chip or re-programme a mobile phone, as such - it's the resulting fraud that is illegal. We're just looking for tighter regulation."

How the fraud works

Advances in technology have made it extremely simple to clone a phone. All an aspiring fraudster needs is a radio scanner, a computer, the correct software and a connector to link the computer to the phone.

All the software is freely available and relatively cheap in high street electronics shops, writes Danny Penman.

When a call is made, the phone broadcasts a signal containing an electronic serial number (ESN) and its telephone

"We think that there may be as many as 4,000 phones a month now being cloned. It's becoming a huge problem and customers are the innocent victims."

Howard Ford, managing director of Cellnet, said: "During the period August 1994 to August 1995 the incidence of cloning increased by some 500 per cent and continues to rise. Strong evidence also suggests that cloning is a major factor ac-

counting for the 12,500 mobile phones which are reported stolen from customers each month."

The FCS will now seek to persuade an MP to guide an amendment to the 1984 Telecommunications Act through Parliament, to make it illegal to possess or use cloning equipment. They have also employed Westminster Strategy, a firm of parliamentary lobbyists, to help ease the passage of their amendment.

To tackle the growing problem, the police have tried prosecutions under the Computer Misuse Act and also attempted to bring charges of conspiracy to defraud under the Theft Act. All have failed.

At least one mobile phone service provider, which acts as intermediary between the consumer and the networks, has begun to take unilateral action.

From next February, Cellphones Direct will limit new customers' call charges to a maximum of £50 per month and all international calls will be barred unless an agreement is reached with the customer.



Send in the clones: Phones seized by the Metropolitan Police in 'Operation Hellweather' Photograph: Edward Sykes



Something we can immunise
all travellers against: shock.

Fairbairn widow pledges £10,000 to secret love-child

Sir Nicholas Fairbairn's widow has promised to give £10,000 to the 10-year-old boy, who she calls herself "Lady Sam".

Suzanne Fairbairn, 53, who said the money would go to the nine-year-old boy, from her husband's affair with an Australian teacher.

The same amount will be given to each of his three daughters from his first marriage - despite his decision to cut them out of his will hours before his death in February.

The money will be paid out from the sale of the MP's beloved home Fordell Castle, in Fife.

The 13th-century castle, which Sir Nicholas always said he bought for £100 and rebuilt, is being sold to a Scottish businessman for more than £500,000.

Lady Fairbairn, who married the MP in 1983, is selling the castle to settle expenses and because she wants to make a fresh start in the south of England. She said that although her husband would have opposed the sale she feels there is no option. The castle is too expensive to run and there are memories she now wants to leave behind.

After Sir Nicholas's death she discovered that he had fathered a son during their marriage. The child's mother, "Paddy" Mullen, wrote to the family shortly after Sir Nicholas died saying she wanted her son, Edward, to visit Fordell and meet his three half-sisters.

Lady Fairbairn has since found photographs of the child among Sir Nicholas's papers along with a Christmas card, signed by the boy. She said: "I find it, to be frank, that he should father a son so soon after we were married, really rather bad judgement on both their parts. I did not expect fidelity but I thought that was really not very good. I thought the timing was very poor. She had been coming here since 1978, it had been going on that long. It makes the mourning easier... I still love him. I just feel that it was completely ill-judged."

Lady Fairbairn denies there was a rift with the daughters which resulted him cutting them out of his will. A codicil, which he added hours before his death, revoked legacies of £10,000 to each of them. "I knew he was doing it. There wasn't any money to give them. There will be of course once Fordell is sold. They will get their money."



Sir Nicholas Fairbairn: cut his daughters out of his will

DAILY POEM

From The Shadow of Hiroshima

By Tony Harrison

Seeing Sonoko asleep
could even make a shadow weep.
Girls as beautiful, as young, as sweet
were seared to cinders by the heat.

'Sayonara, Sonoko,
I love you but I have to go
back to my museum case
with no body and no face,
back to a world where none embrace
nor do the things I did before
our hawks and jingos joined the war,
and you're so lucky to do after -
drinking sake, singing, laughter,
even Parlor Atom, but above
everything on earth, to love.

Sayonara, I must return
back to the bank steps where I'll burn.
tomorrow morning, 8.15,
only this flimsy paper screen,
flammable as a fan, 's between
your sleeping body and the man
who'll be cremated, Shadow Sam.
When you hear the Peace Bell chime
that's 8.15, my burning time.
First the conflagration of the fan
then after it the fanning man.

Before my eyes burst from the heat
a blazing dove falls at my feet.

I saw the saddened shade retire
to face again the flash and fire.

Tony Harrison's *The Shadow of Hiroshima* and other film-poems (Faber) is one of four collections shortlisted for the 1995 Whitbread Poetry Award. Harrison has made the genre of film-poems his own, and is increasingly involved with the camera direction as the writing of verse. *The Shadow of Hiroshima*, the tale of Shadow-san, the man whose shadow, once a living, healthy, black - now white - became marked on stone in the violent heat of the A-bomb, was broadcast by Channel 4 this summer and is the title poem of this collection.

The 1995 Whitbread Poetry Award will be announced on 4 January. The other shortlisted collections are: *The Dead Sea Poems* by Simon Armitage, *Rest for the Wicked* by Glyn Maxwell and *Gunpowder* by Bernard O'Donoghue.

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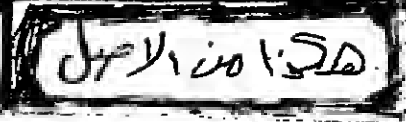
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politics

Major stands firm on IRA

DONALD MACINTYRE
Political Editor

John Major yesterday firmly repeated his insistence that the IRA begin surrendering its arms before round-table talks between the Northern Ireland parties, as intensive efforts were under way to finalise an Anglo-Irish summit for Friday.

The two prime ministers sought last night to clear further obstacles in the way of a summit, in a telephone call designed to ensure their meeting went ahead before President Clinton's long-heralded visit to Northern Ireland next week. But although the governments agreed to further contacts tomorrow, hopes of a Friday meeting appeared remote.

Mr Bruton has been under pressure to accept that the British Government's insistence that the IRA should actively begin the process of surrendering arms before all-party talks, should not be allowed to halt the momentum of the peace process any longer.

The new moves underpinned

hopes of agreement by the end of the week on a "twin-track" approach, under which the commission - almost certain to be chaired by the leading US Democrat, George Mitchell - would examine decommissioning issues while the two governments would begin separate bilateral talks on a political settlement, with each of the Northern Ireland parties. This could lead to all-party talks as early as next February.

The British pre-condition for such talks was firmly restated by Mr Major in the Commons yesterday, when he was asked by David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionists "to confirm that it is and will continue to be the policy of this Government that, before Sinn Féin IRA can move fully into dialogue, they must establish their commitment to exclusively peaceful methods by beginning a credible process of actual decommissioning."

Mr Major said the requirement "remains the Government's position."

Earlier, Mr Bruton had told

the Irish Parliament there would be no Anglo-Irish summit on the Ulster peace process until the London and Dublin governments reached an accord.

He added that talks with Mr Major were now "at a critical phase".

He said: "I would only wish to agree the setting of a date when I was satisfied that we would be in a position to settle all the outstanding matters."

The Irish premier's comments followed overnight "comments" made to Downing Street by his office to a set of proposals submitted to the Dublin government by Mr Major intended to relaunch the "twin track" phase of the process.

Mr Bruton refused to detail his contacts with Mr Major - or the timing of an anticipated telephone conversation with the British Prime Minister - but confirmed plans for a second confidential meeting in two days with Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams "to discuss the on-going peace process".

The Budget alternatives: Parties wrangle over 'fairness' of cuts and allowances



Lib Dem line-up: In London yesterday, from left, Malcolm Bruce, Paddy Ashdown, Diana Maddock. Photograph: Edward Webb

Blair defends 10p tax

Tony Blair, the Labour leader, was forced into a defence of his shadow chancellor Gordon Brown yesterday, insisting that the goal of a 10p tax starter band would be a "fair" tax cut, writes Patricia Wynn Davies.

Mr Blair was speaking at the Association of British Editors annual dinner in the wake of a barrage of ridicule from Brian Mawhinney, the Tory party chairman - and more serious criticisms of the independent Institute for Fiscal Studies which says the most progressive way to cut income tax is to raise allowances.

Mr Brown insisted in a letter to Dr Mawhinney yesterday that the Government's aim of abolishing capital gains and inheritance tax would be "far less fair" than his 10p tax.

Paddy Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, vowed that his party would vote against income tax cuts in next week's Budget unless they were matched by significant increases in education spending that went beyond the £800m believed to be on offer, but which Mr Ashdown said would only make up for underfunding last year.

Clinical services 'will stay within NHS'

NICHOLAS TIMMINS
Public Policy Editor

Doctors and nurses employed by National Health Service trusts will continue to provide direct health care in the "overwhelming majority" of cases under the Government's private finance initiative, Stephen Dorrell, the Secretary of State for Health, said yesterday.

The private sector's role un-

der the scheme - in which private finance and companies will be used to design, build, finance and operate NHS hospitals - will largely be limited to "the efficient management of efficient buildings", he said in a speech which sets broad limits to the private sector's involvement in providing NHS care.

"It is no part of the Government's policy to transfer the delivery of NHS clinical services

into the private sector," Mr Dorrell told the Royal College of Physicians.

Its aim, at least in part, was to defuse Labour charges that the Government is progressively privatising the NHS.

With one of the first schemes, a £26m 150-bed redevelopment of St James's Hospital in Leeds now with the Treasury for approval, Mr Dorrell said he anticipated "a regular flow" over

the next few months of projects in which the private sector will build and manage NHS hospitals. But "the distinction between clinical services, on the one hand, and the supporting facilities, on the other, is fundamental to this issue", he said.

However, the Secretary of State still left the door open for the private sector to provide some clinical services and clinical support services, such as ra-

dology and pathology. Where trusts have examined that, it is "a matter for local determination", Mr Dorrell said claiming that change "cannot be carried out without the support of local clinicians".

He maintained that it was "nothing to do with the PFI", which he said was "concerned with the provision of modern and efficient facilities for the delivery of health care...".

Patten opens attack on 'time bomb' divorce Bill

John Patten, the former Secretary of State for Education, opened his assault on the divorce Bill yesterday, warning his erstwhile Cabinet colleagues they were "priming a terrible moral and social time bomb".

Predicting that the legislation would lead to still more divorces in Britain, Mr Patten said Tories should judge the Family Law Bill against their boast to be the party of the family. In his Cabinet days, Mr Patten, a Roman Catholic, joined John Redwood, then Secretary of State for Wales, in opposing the Lord Chancellor's proposals which ends "quickie" divorces but also the need to prove fault.

Both men are now able to campaign without the inhibitions of office, though the Bill has first to get through the Lords where it is due for its Second Reading debate next Thursday. "Friendly fire along these benches is always to be desired," Mr Patten said during the continuing debate on the Queen's Speech - then pulled the trigger. For a Tory government to introduce a Bill for which there was no popular demand in the run-up to an election was "eccentric".

Blaming the Bill on the political correctness of the Law Commission, he said that every time the Commons had legislated on divorce since the Sec-

ond World War, there had been an upsurge. It was perceived that divorce was being made easier and that the state backed marriage less and less.

"It is an empirical certainty that if we legislate again, there will be another surge in the number of divorces. That certainty will be compounded by the introduction for the first time of true no-fault divorce on demand", Mr Patten claimed. The effect could be to turn Britain "from the divorce capital of Europe, which we are now, to the divorce capital of the world".

Government plans to give vouchers to the parents of all four-year-olds to buy nursery school places came under fire from both sides of the Commons during the debate. Gillian Shephard, Secretary of State for Education, spurned an offer from her Labour shadow, David Blunkett, for a bipartisan approach to nursery

education. But the most awkward contributions came from the benches behind her.

Iain Mills, Tory MP for Meriden, said at least 42 local authorities would "suffer" from the voucher scheme although they were already providing "excellent" nursery education. Council schools will have to compete with private sector nurseries to get back money they are currently allocated for four-year olds. Sir Malcolm Thornton, Tory chairman of the education select committee, said the £5m pilot scheme must be just that. He appealed to Mrs Shephard to look at the pilot with an open mind. If it did not work have to courage to say so.

Claiming that £20m that could be used for children would be swallowed up in administration, Mr Blunkett urged Mrs Shephard to join with him, the Pre-school Learning Alliance, the private sector and LEAs to work out a way of providing a nursery place for every four-year-old.

But Mrs Shephard was only prepared to sit down with Mr Blunkett to tell him how a successful voucher scheme would work. She said most of the £20m mention was for inspection, not administration, and told Tory critics that parental choice had to come before "institutional processes".

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GORDON MILNE

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Schools blame image-makers for diet problem

JUDITH JUDD
Education Editor

Growing numbers of girls in private schools are suffering from eating disorders like bulimia and anorexia, a leading girls' school headmistress said yesterday.

Penelope Penney, head of Haberdashers' Aske's Girls' School, Elstree, Hertfordshire, and president of the Girls' Schools Association, said: "More of our schools are having to deal with youngsters suffering from eating disorders than youngsters on drugs."

Speaking at the association's annual conference in London, she blamed advertisers for encouraging girls to believe they had to be as thin as stick insects to be attractive and loved.

"Advertisers should recognise that most of us grow up to be rather round and pear-shaped," she added.

Mrs Penney spoke of the pressures on girls which might lead to bulimia, compulsive eating, or anorexia. "They are under pressure for success at A-level. They are under pressure to get into university and then it is difficult for them to get jobs."

The pressure was made worse "by the appalling demands of advertising, the wait-like thinness of new models, the beginnings of anorexia".

Young people felt they had to conform to an image to be loved instead of learning to love themselves and be loved for themselves. That could lead to disorders like bulimia.

Several of the association's 420 schools had counselors who tried to nip problems in the bud.

The association also said yesterday that the Government should extend the assisted places scheme to younger pupils, to fulfil the Prime Minister's pledge to double it.

They urged ministers to ensure that more girls would get Government-funded assisted places, which allow bright pupils from poor homes to attend private schools.

At present, assisted places are limited to pupils aged 11 and above and many more boys than girls receive help.

Ministers are considering lowering the age for assisted places to seven, as there is not enough demand among older pupils to double the scheme.

The heads said that Gillian Shephard, the Secretary of State for Education, should relax the criteria schools have to meet before they are allowed to offer assisted places. That would allow girls' schools with small sixth forms to offer places. At present schools need a sixth form of 60 before they can take part.

Mrs Penney said: "One of the highly significant benefits of the assisted places scheme is that it offers choice of single sex education for girls. More than a third of local authorities now have no single sex provision for girls."

Labour has said it will abolish the scheme and girls' schools have begun fund-raising for scholarships for pupils who might then be unable to afford fee-paying education.

The heads said girls did better in all-girls schools: a 21-year study of co-education in the US published last year showed that girls were constantly sidelined and silenced.

However, the latest statistics show that the number of girls in single-sex fee-paying schools has fallen by around 14,000 during the last decade.



Let us forget: Nichola Lee, who survived the Tavern in the Town pub bombing, surveys the memorial to the 21 victims Photograph: Roland Leon

Birmingham honours pub bomb victims

A memorial service was finally held yesterday for the 21 people killed in the Birmingham pub bombings - 21 years after the terrorist outrage.

Relatives of those killed and the more than 160 people have long criticised the authorities' delay in holding a service.

The service, at St Philip's Cathedral in Birmingham,

included the unveiling of the first memorial in the city to the bombings at the Mulberry Bush and Tavern pubs, 200 yards apart in the city centre, on 21 November 1974.

A crowd of about 200 relatives and friends filled the church for the service led jointly by the Bishop of Aston, the Rt Rev John Austin, the assistant bishop,

the Rt Rev Terence Brain, and the Birmingham president of the United Reformed Church, the Rev Irene Band.

Many wept as the names of the 21 killed were read. During the service relatives followed the ministers out in procession to the churchyard of the cathedral,

where the memorial plaque was unveiled by Jim Eames, who was Lord Mayor of Birmingham at the time of the bombings.

Most relatives have laid wreaths alone outside the two pubs every year on the anniversary of the explosions.

Paul Beasley, 60, whose 30-year-old brother, Michael, was killed at the Mulberry Bush pub, has been to the site every year since the blast and promises he

will return each year. Mr Beasley, from Acocks Green in Birmingham, said: "Today is a sad day. Sad for many reasons; that it has taken 21 years to get this service, and sad that the people who perpetrated this crime have never been brought to justice. It is terrible 21 innocent people lost their lives that night."

Safety watchdog letting employers 'off the hook'

BARRIE CLEMENT
Labour Editor

The Health and Safety Commission yesterday came under fire for allowing unscrupulous employers to "wiggle off the hook" as it announced a rise in deaths among the self-employed and the public.

In its annual report the commission revealed that the number of work-place deaths among the employed declined to an all-time low last year, but senior officials acknowledge they were seriously concerned about fatal accidents elsewhere.

In anticipation of the "rosy picture" to be portrayed by the commission, the normally moderate IPMS civil service union, argued that the commission's optimism was a "facade".

Cuts in funding had meant a reduction in the number of inspectors and had "destroyed morale". The union claimed that managers at the Health and Safety Executive, the operational arm of the commission, had been told to prepare for further reductions in funding of up to 9 per cent.

Ministers were accused of reducing the number of site inspections in favour of telephone calls, mail shots and advertisements. The IPMS claimed that the substitution of "contacts" for inspections constituted an "official deceit".

Frank Davies, chairman of the commission, denounced the assertions of the inspectors' and managers' union as "nonsense".

He welcomed the fact that fatal accidents among the employed were at an all-time low. Last year deaths among the employed were down by 13 at 283. The fatal accident rate for the total workforce had been maintained at the low level recorded last year - about 1.2 per 100,000 workers.

Mr Davies said staff morale was "extremely high" and dismissed as speculation the suggestion of a 9 per cent cut in expenditure.

The annual report showed that 73 self-employed workers

had died in accidents compared with an average of 62 over the past three years. The provisional number of fatal accidents to members of the public in workplaces, which included building sites and fairgrounds, was 118, the highest for the last four years.

Mr Davies said that increasing resources would be targeted at reducing occupational ill health and that the commission would continue its efforts to help small firms. He said the number of small businesses had doubled in the last 15 years and that together with the self-employed they now accounted for more than 40 per cent of private sector employment.

In a statement the IPMS said the number of field inspectors should be doubled to 2,000, and estimated that many establishments were now only visited once every decade. Inspectors who had taken early retirement had since been recalled on consultancy contracts at substantial expense to the taxpayer.

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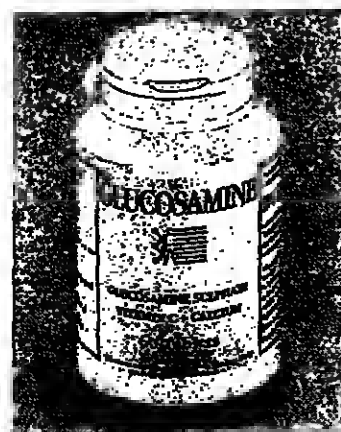
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Quality Through Research

Under-age drinkers: Doctors warn of the serious impact of an 'insidious' advertising campaign that is targeted at teenagers

Alcohol 'as big a problem as drugs for the young'

LIZ HUNT
Health Editor

Leading doctors are accusing the drinks industry of targeting under-age drinkers with an "insidious" campaign promoting a range of alcoholic lemonades and colas.

The drinks are specially formulated to encourage younger people to make the transition from soft drinks to alcohol, critics say.

Alcohol Concern, the anti-drink lobbying group, has attacked the trade for its "cynical attempt... to hook young people on alcohol", and claims that alcohol is as dangerous as drugs.

At the launch of a major new report on alcohol and the young which concludes that drink is "at least as great a threat" as illegal drugs to child health and welfare, Philip Graham, Emeritus Professor of Psychiatry at the Institute of Child Health in London, and chairman of the National Children's Bureau

said yesterday: "As far as the industry goes it is simply good marketing practice."

"They are doing nothing illegal... but by portraying 20- or 21-year-olds enjoying themselves with these drinks it obviously influences the 14-, 15- and 16-year-olds because that is how they want to be."

There are about a dozen alcoholic colas and lemonades now available in the United Kingdom with names such as Alcola, Memphis Mist, Hooper's Hooch and Lemon Lips. The alcohol content ranges from 4.2 per cent to 5.5 per cent, and there are plans to launch an 11 per cent version of Two Dogs, a lemonade, here next year.

Professor Sir Leslie Turnbull, President of the Royal College of Physicians, said: "They all have the same content as beer. This is an insidious way in."

Alcohol is responsible for "ten times as much damage and danger to young people as drugs", Professor Turnbull

added, and is linked to aggressive and violent behaviour, depression and suicidal behaviour, poor performance at school and high-risk sexual behaviour.

The report of a joint working party of the RCP and the British Paediatric Association, chaired by Professor Graham, says that alcohol consumption is at a "worryingly high level".

The average consumption of 13-year-old boys is eight units per week (four pints of beer or equivalent), rising to 15 units in 15-year-old boys. The equivalent figures for girls are six and nine units. Six per cent of boys of 11-15 and 5 per cent of girls drink more than the recommended adult limits of 21 units for men and 14 for women.

Professor Roy Meadow, president of the BPA, warned that the impact of alcohol permeated every level of childhood, from the foetus whose development was compromised through its mother's drinking to the neglect, physical and sexual abuse of children by heavy-drinking parents. In addition, it was a major "killer and maimer" in drink-driving accidents.

The report makes 13 recommendations, including calls for tighter controls on all forms of alcohol promotion aimed at the young, and a review of the code of marketing practice.

It urges increased taxation to achieve a price disincentive, and a review of the "confused" legislation governing where and at what age alcohol can be bought and consumed.

A spokesman for the Portman Group, a research organisation representing the seven leading UK drinks manufacturers, dismissed claims that alcoholic lemonades and colas were a "new sinister element in drinks marketing... the reality is that young people are already drinking more alcoholic drinks".

□ *Alcohol and Young People*; Royal College of Physicians, 11 St Andrew's Place, Regent's Park, London NW1 4LE; £7.50.



Hard stuff: Youngsters are developing alcohol dependency at an early age

Photograph: Peter Macdarmid

Driven to the bottle by boredom

GLENDIA COOPER

Claire, 16, says that in her hometown of St Albans, drinking is a way of life for many of her contemporaries because of the lax attitudes of those who serve alcohol. Although the problem may be traditionally associated with teenage boys, there is just as much if not more pressure for girls.

"At my school some of them go out every night to the pub, not necessarily to get completely drunk. They have no problem in walking up and getting served."

"There are definitely certain pubs with a reputation and you'll get served. People just aren't bothered about age. Some pubs do have bouncers, but it's easy to get in past them. "It doesn't even seem to matter how old you look," she added. "I don't think that I look 18 but I haven't had much of a problem. I've got a friend who's really short - and she gets in."

Off licences are similar. "Again there's just some who don't bother about age at all, and everyone knows which ones they are," Claire thinks there is more pressure for girls because "they look older sooner. It is easier for them to get into pubs."

The favourite drinks for under-age drinkers tend to be strong ciders, which get you drunk quickly, but some girls will drink wine and "quite a few girls like their beer".

"There's one girl I know who bangs out with really hard types. One time she got so drunk that they had to call an ambulance and they were in quite a bit of trouble with the ambulance crew and their parents, once they got to the hospital."

"I think it would be definitely easy for some people to get addicted, particularly with the pressure you're under in sixth form."

The problem as Claire sees it is there is no real alternative amusement for older teenagers. "There's little else to do other than go to the pub."

Children in care turn to prostitution, report claims

HEATHER MILLS
Home Affairs Correspondent

Some children going into social service care in South Wales are leaving as prostitutes, according to a suppressed report into child sex in the area.

A draft of the report says that about 50 teenagers in Cardiff are prostituting themselves, and some of them were introduced to the business only after entering the care system.

It concludes: "Some young people will be involved in prostitution before they enter local authority accommodation... but for others the local authority accommodation system and particularly residential units can create what one worker described as a 'network of opportunity' for young people to get involved in risk behaviours such as prostitution."

It quotes one youth talking about why he became a prosti-

tute: "It just happened when I went into care and stuff like that. I got introduced to things and I ended up trying to see what it was like."

The study, by the University of Cardiff and the Children's Society, was part funded and commissioned by South Glamorgan County Council, and a variety of children's charities, which have so far failed to publish its findings.

But details were revealed in last night's BBC Wales's *Week In, Week Out* documentary, which alleges that the local authority was worried about bad publicity. The programme had a leaked memorandum from the former director of social services, Chris Perry, saying: "I wanted to do nothing which would link South Glamorgan to child prostitution in any way."

It also showed a letter from one of the report's authors to the local authority urging pub-

lication: "It would be unfortunate indeed if concern over the consequences for the county council of reporting such an issue were to take precedence over promoting knowledge and awareness of youth prostitution more widely."

In the film, the present social services director, John Jevons, said the report was the property of a voluntary organisation, who "have expressed their intention to publish it next year".

He said: "Children who come into our care... they are damaged and inevitably a small proportion will engage in undesirable activities. That's a fact and every social services department needs to divert them from this."

"The actions of South Glamorgan, which have taken place over a number of years, have been such that there is a heavy investment of council activities and police activities, and

other agencies directed toward assisting the problem," he said. But Allan Levy QC, who headed the "pindown" inquiry into council care in Staffordshire, has called for a national inquiry into child prostitution and attacked the South Wales authority for not publishing the findings.

The programme contained interviews with teenage girls in care who describe how they can earn hundreds of pounds a night from prostitution, but also describe the fear and violence they face while making the money.

One of the girls, Stacey, 15, said she hated her care home so much that she ran away to earn money on the streets. "It's a horrible place to be and everyone I know who has lived there has run away and got involved in prostitution... because they can't stop you from going out and don't try to stop you, so you just do it," she says.

Judge overturns police decision

The officer in immediate command of police marksmen who shot dead a farmer, Ian Fitzgerald Hay, at his home must face disciplinary action, the High Court ruled yesterday.

A judge said a controversial decision to dismiss police proceedings brought against Chief Inspector Alan McArthur, head of Devon and Cornwall police firearms unit, was the result of a "misdirection in law".

In what amounts to a significant victory for Mr Fitzgerald Hay's family and the Independent Police Complaints Authority, the judge overturned a decision of the Chief Constable of Devonshire, Walter Givens, in May to halt a police internal disciplinary hearing on the grounds that the proceedings were "an abuse of process".

Mr Justice Sedley ruled: "On the view which I take of the law and the facts, the only decision open to Mr Givens was that there was no unfairness in proceeding with the charge."

Ch Insp McArthur was in charge of a nine-strong firearms team which laid siege to Mr Fitzgerald Hay's home in Diptford, Devon, in October 1993.

An inquest jury in December last year returned a verdict of lawful killing after hearing that the farmer, who had shot dead a police dog, was killed when three officers fired simultaneously within two minutes of arriving at the scene.

The officers told the inquest they were convinced that Mr Fitzgerald Hay, 39, was about to turn his handgun on them.

But family members later accused the police of "over-reacting" and said if they had checked the farmer's background they would have realised that he was mentally unstable.

The judge yesterday refused to interfere with Mr Evans's decision to allow Superintendent Roger Mehan, who had been sent to take overall command of the siege operation, to resign from the force on health grounds.

Fans in a rush for Beatles album

Hundreds of fans and keen collectors queued outside record stores in Liverpool and London early yesterday to be the first to buy copies of the first Beatles recording in 25 years.

More queues formed as shops opened at their normal time in the rush to buy the double CD, *Beatles Anthology 1*, but store chiefs said business was brisk rather than overwhelming.

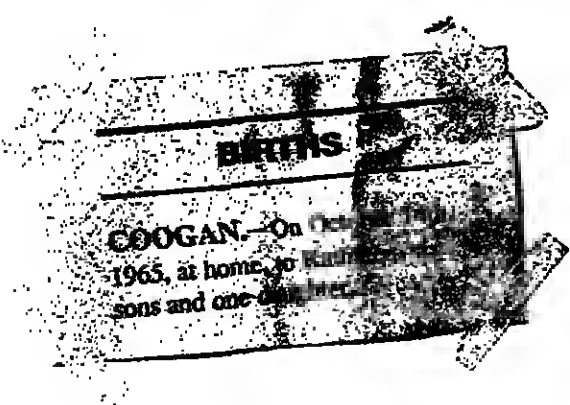
The 60-track anthology was launched world-wide in an enormous wave of publicity yesterday. It includes "Free As A Bird", a new recording made by the three surviving Beatles with a demo tape of the late John Lennon, to be released as a single next week.

The song was made odds-on favourite to top the Christmas charts before anyone had even heard it. Many critics have confessed to being disappointed with the "plodding" production and others even ventured that Lennon's 1977 reject should, as he intended, never have seen

the light of day. However, fans who have waited 25 years may be more grateful, and screening of the definitive documentary linked with the record, starting on Sunday on ITV, is expected to keep interest high.

A spokesman for the HMV record chain said: "Our main Oxford Street store in London sold nearly 200 units in the first hour or so after opening today." Interest seemed equally keen in other cities, and he estimated the chain would sell about 50,000 units this week, making it sure to top the album charts on Sunday. "It seems as if a momentum has been established because of all the hype," he said. But it was not selling as fast as this year's biggest album, *Morning Glory*, by Oasis.

Virgin Our Price reported similar levels of interest in the Beatles anthology on anecdotal evidence. A spokesman said that its Oxford Street store sold 350 copies when it opened at midnight.



Coogan's Run, 9.30pm, this Friday, BBC2.

BBC2 is proud to announce the arrival of seven Steve Coogans. This Friday it's the turn of the salesman from hell: Gareth Cheeseman.



22 من الال

Polish election: Ousted President calls for a re-run as supporters say ballot boxes were stuffed with bogus voting slips

Beaten Walesa claims poll was rigged

ANTHONY BARKER
Reuters

Warsaw — Defeated President Lech Walesa's staff alleged fraud by victorious ex-Communist Aleksander Kwasniewski's followers yesterday and said they would challenge Poland's election result before the Supreme Court.

"We have reason to speak of election fraud," Mr Walesa's campaign spokesman, Boguslaw Kowalski, said. "We will pass the appropriate submissions to the Supreme Court."

Asked whether Mr Walesa's camp would seek an annul-

ment of the election, he answered: "Yes". Mr Kwasniewski's aides denied any attempt to rig the vote. "On our side there was no attempt to falsify the elections," senior Kwasniewski campaign official, Malgorzata Winiarczyk-Kossakowska said.

About 600,000 votes amid a record turnout separated the two candidates in the election in which the fiery former leader of the Solidarity movement lost to the urbane social democrat, a former top communist official.

"We have evidence that ballot cards were stuffed in urns, evidence that one member of an electoral commission in War-

saw added a whole sheaf — he was caught red-handed," Mr Kowalski said. "These are documented cases," he added. He also spoke of incidents where people arrived to vote only to find others had voted under their names. Mr Walesa's staff also protested in a statement that Mr Kwasniewski had misled voters by writing falsehoods in his personal documents.

Mr Kwasniewski officially claimed to have a higher education, but his university said just before the vote that he had never graduated. It also emerged during the campaign that he had failed to declare to

parliament shares held by his wife. "It is not right that the President of the Republic was chosen by ballot cards added to the urns, rather than by the votes of electors, and that he should have more than one accusation of telling untruths hanging over him — and that is what Aleksander Kwasniewski did," the statement said.

Mr Kwasniewski has admitted he did not declare his wife's substantial shareholdings in his parliamentary deputy's statement, but said it was an honest mistake.

An official of the National Electoral Commission said that

the Supreme Court would have to settle any protests about the election within 20 days of the voting.

"In the case of a verdict establishing that the election is void, new elections will be conducted," the commission's director Bogdan Szczesniak said.

Mr Walesa has refused to take his defeat lying down, declaring on Monday that he would tour Poland uniting the fractured opposition for parliamentary elections due by 1997 and urging voters to break free of what he dubbed a Red Spiderweb.

"I got a slap from a few peo-

ple," he told a news conference. "In keeping with the Old Testament I will repay it so that their jaws fall off," added the pugnacious former electrician before taking a week off to rest.

A Kwasniewski campaign official said the victor's staff viewed the complaint of vote-rigging as a continuation of the election campaign and an attempt to stir up public opinion.

Defeat came as a bitter setback for Mr Walesa who brought communism to its knees in a decade-long struggle in the 1980s. But his strong electoral showing he won 48.5 per cent to his opponent's 51.7 per

cent — could put him in a good position to regroup the right.

Mr Walesa's ousting launched an exodus of top officials loyal to him, leaving Mr Kwasniewski with the thorny task of filling key posts. Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, a nominee of the former Solidarity leader, said he had rejected pleas by Mr Kwasniewski's leftist party colleague, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy, to remain in place.

Since Mr Kwasniewski's Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) had won the presidency in Sunday's vote, in addition to the government and parliamentary



Walesa: Court challenge

majority it already held, it should be solely accountable for its future actions.

■ Rome (Reuters) — Cardinal Fiorenzo Angelini said Mr Walesa's defeat showed Poles lacked the patience needed to rebuild their country.

Sihanouk relative arrested on coup charge

RAYMOND WHITAKER

In another sign that the Cambodian government installed after UN-supervised elections is becoming increasingly authoritarian, Prince Norodom Sirivudh, a former foreign minister and half-brother of King Norodom Sihanouk, was arrested yesterday and charged with plotting to kill Hun Sen, one of the country's two joint prime ministers.

Prince Sirivudh had been under house arrest since Friday, when Mr Hun Sen ordered tanks on to the streets of Phnom Penh to protect himself from the alleged plot, but the prince was not taken into custody until parliament voted to lift his immunity yesterday. Although he is still secretary-general of the royalist FUNCINPEC party, which is in coalition with Mr Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party (CPP), FUNCINPEC does not appear to be coming to his aid.

Yesterday Prince Sirivudh's French-born wife, Monique, said her husband's party "have put his head under water".

The prince's treatment echoes that meted out to Cambodia's former finance minister, Sam Rainsy. Regarded as one of the few uncorrupt members of the government that took office in 1993 after an international operation to restore democracy in Cambodia, Mr Rainsy was ejected first from the government, then from FUNCINPEC and finally from the National Assembly.

According to Human Rights Watch/Asia, repeated threats to his life "appear to emanate from the highest levels of the government". Newspaper editors and other critics of the government have been subject to similar intimidation, but the move against such a close relative of King Sihanouk suggests his influence is waning. The 73-year-old monarch is revered by Cambodians, but suffers from cancer and spends long periods out of the country for treatment.

His son, Prince Norodom Ranariddh, is the country's other joint premier, but seems increasingly subordinate to Mr Hun Sen and his fellow ex-Communists, although FUNCINPEC won more seats than the CPP in 1993. The CPP, however, had the advantage of almost 15 years in power, having been installed by the Vietnamese after they invaded Cambodia in 1978 to oust the Khmer Rouge. The party's functionaries control most of the administration and the armed forces.

Cambodia's slide into autocracy can only benefit the Khmer Rouge, which still controls large sections of territory and supports itself by trading gems and tropical timber through Thailand. The movement signed the 1991 peace agreement but boycotted the subsequent election.

America's happening city blends into a culture of caffeine

SEATTLE DAYS

The receptionist at my hotel who was from Washington DC, complained that Seattle did not provide enough stimulus for his brain. "It's monocultural," he said. I asked him what he meant. But he replied, as if to prove his point, that he couldn't put it into words.

It came as a surprise, immediately upon arriving in Seattle, to hear the city put down in this way. This, I had been led to believe, was one of the really happening places in America.

The setting is beautiful: the Cascade mountains look down upon Seattle and Seattle looks down upon the sea.

The money is abundant: Boeing builds its aircraft here and Bill Gates, the head of Microsoft and the world's richest self-made businessman, lives in the city. (He is building himself a \$30m home with video walls that will be programmed to project reproductions of paintings from the world's great museums.)

The politics are unusually progressive: the city is 80 per cent white but a few years ago they elected a black mayor. And the music scene is super cool: Seattle was the birthplace of Jimi Hendrix and of Kurt Cobain, the suicide whose rock group Nirvana gave the world "grunge".

So, "monocultural"? What was the guy on about? I took a stroll downtown and quickly found out. Coffee, coffee, coffee everywhere. A virus, an obsession, a fetish, coffee is to Seattle as rice is to China.

Every other shop in central Seattle has a sign that reads "ESPRESSO".

Tiny corner stores that sell razor blades and cigarettes advertise "ESPRESSO"; "greasy spoon" diners where the menus are written in red plastic letters on white plastic boards ("Poach eggs, Toast, Eng Muff [sic]) announce in red neon lights that they too do a nice line in "ESPRESSO"; elegant French restaurants put stickers up on

their windows letting you know that, yes, don't worry, come in, we too provide "ESPRESSO".

A shabby little grocery wedged in between the "Lusty Lady" strip club and "Wallaby's" apparel for shorter men, announces — shrieks — "NOW SERVING ESPRESSO!"

They even have "Espresso Drive-Thrus". Elsewhere in America a Drive-Thru is where you stop your car to pick up a cheese quarter-pounder and a Diet Coke. In Seattle you line up at a little window for a shot of thick, black coffee.

Two centuries ago Boston

The 'intriguing smokiness' of Guatemala ... the 'cut-grass aroma' of Ethiopia ...

had its Tea Party. Today what is happening in Seattle is nothing short of a coffee revolution.

And the catalyst is Starbucks, a company which started serving coffee from a small shop in Seattle in 1987 (after the owner had an epiphany in Milan) and now has 702 outlets in the United States and Canada. This year, a Starbucks spokeswoman said, they are opening new stores at a rate of one a day.

Everywhere from Los Angeles to New York and, starting next year, Tokyo, London — don't doubt it — will not be far behind. Starbucks approaches coffee like the French approach wine. The staff at every store, the spokeswoman assured me, are geared to give you a seminar, should you require it, on the "intriguing smokiness" of the

Guatemala Antigua variety; the "cut-grass aroma" of Ethiopian Harrar; "the low acidity and laser-focused flavor" of Costa Rican Minitia; "the pungent bouquet" of Sumatran Boengie.

That is the advanced course. What I need when I go to a Starbucks is an ABC on the basics. Lengthy cross-examinations at one of Greater Seattle's 70 outlets yielded the discovery that a Latte is an espresso with steamed milk topped with foamed milk; that a Con Panna is an espresso with whipped cream; that a Frappuccino is a sweet, iced, Latte milk shake.

Starbucks has spawned its imitators, notably a chain called Seattle's Best Coffee, which serves Raspberry Kiss Mocha, Almond Mocha Joy and Eggnog Latte, described in the menu as "espresso blended with eggnog and 2 per cent milk and steamed to a froth".

A number of the few enterprising Seattleites — that is what they call themselves — who operate outside the coffee industry have come up with innovative ideas to cater to their clients' addiction.

There are furniture shops and life insurance companies which provide espresso shots on the premises.

There is a dentist by the name of Ron Walach who runs an outfit called Espresso Dental. Patients seeking to build up their stress levels in Mr Walach's waiting room are invited to sip free lattes, macchiatos, cappuccinos.

What I wonder is whether the caffeine-crazed citizens of Seattle ever manage to get a good night's rest. I do not know for sure but I think I understand better now why that Tom Hanks movie of a couple of years back was called *Sleepless in Seattle*.

John Carlin



Swamped: Seattle, between the mountains and a sea of coffee Photograph: Gamma

China arrests veteran protest leader

JANE MACARTNEY
Reuters

Peking — China yesterday formally arrested its most prominent dissident and father of its embattled democracy movement, Wei Jingsheng, on the capital charge of trying to overthrow the government.

Mr Wei, 46, has spent all but seven months of the past 16 years confined by the Chinese authorities. The Peking city authorities found that the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize nominee "conducted activities in an attempt to overthrow the government" between his release in September 1993 and his detention in April 1994.

The brief announcement was the first official word in 20 months on the whereabouts of Mr Wei, a former electrician at Peking zoo, who disappeared into police custody after a meeting with a senior US human rights official. He has been held incommunicado ever since, with no notice given to his family or the numerous foreign leaders who have inquired about his status.

"His actions were in violation of the criminal law and constituted crimes," the official Xinhua news agency said. Conviction on the charge, virtually assured in China's justice system, could be punishable by death.

Mr Wei was released on parole in September, 1993, after serving all but six months of a 15-year prison term for selling military secrets and "counter-revolutionary" crimes, or subversion. During his six months of freedom, he said he had no regrets about taking a public stand and frequently and openly attacked the government. He encouraged China's dissidents to link up with workers and peasants, gave interviews to foreign journalists and published essays overseas.

Police cordoned off his home in Peking yesterday, but members of his family contacted by telephone dismissed the new charges as absurd, questioning how one man could overthrow the Communist Party while under constant police surveillance.

"What evidence is there?" one relative asked. "It's a frame-up. Such a big country, such a big party and yet they cannot tolerate one or two words of criticism. They're too fragile. If he did actually attempt to overthrow the government, who were his accomplices? It would be crazy for one person to try singlehandedly to overthrow the government."

"How long can you keep a man in prison to keep him quiet?" said Robin Munro, a Hong Kong-based researcher for Human Rights Watch/Asia. "Now we finally know what the Chinese government has in mind for Wei, after a year and a half of keeping him in solitary, incommunicado detention." The authorities would have acted more swiftly, he added, if Mr Wei had not been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.



Wei: Years in custody

Russian parties make free with promises

PHIL REEVES
Moscow

Bedridden and unpopular he may be, but Boris Yeltsin is not being deterred from making the most of his presidential powers to garner votes in next month's parliamentary elections.

Russia's disenfranchised electors are being bombarded by pre-election promises, many of which are cooked up in the Kremlin in an effort to boost the lukewarm support for the government-backed party headed by the Russian Prime Minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin.

In the last week alone, the President, who has been in hospital since 26 October with a

heart ailment, has revealed a scheme to pay pensions on time in an attempt to win over the elderly — a key constituency. He has also instructed the government to set up a fund to compensate millions of Russian investors who were victims of financial swindles in the chaos that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union.

And Mr Chernomyrdin, head of "Our Home Is Russia" party, has told military commanders the government will pay all its arrears to the armed forces, including several months of back wages owed to servicemen.

Such moves reflect the level of concern within the Yeltsin government about the likely

outcome of the parliamentary elections, which is both a crucial test of Russia's fledgling democracy and a means of gauging Mr Yeltsin's re-election chances next year. With just under a month to go, the Communists are comfortably ahead in the opinion polls.

The government has the advantage of being in power, but it is not alone in its willingness to go to some lengths to manipulate public opinion. For their nationalist and anti-Western rhetoric, it is clear that many of the 43 parties or blocs contesting the election are happy to crib from the books of their Western counterparts.

So-called "attack" advertise-

ments abound. In Moscow, a giant billboard has appeared, paid for by a small liberal-nationalist party, which targets the leader of the Communists, Gennady Zyuganov: "Fifty million victims of the civil war, collectivisation and repression would not vote for Zyuganov," it says.

Mr Chernomyrdin and his aides are not averse to the odd US-style stunt, as Muscovites discovered last week when they were treated to a concert by the rapper MC Hammer, courtesy of "Our Home Is Russia". Precisely how much Hammer knew about his hosts is questionable, as he was heard backstage demanding to know more about them. On learning that the par-

ty had the backing of Mr Yeltsin himself, the rapper reportedly announced, with evident relief: "If America can do business with them, Hammer can do business with them."

Mr Chernomyrdin also made an unusable attempt to win over the news media by unveiling a package of measures, including VAT relief, aimed at helping Russia's cash-starved media — a move which he accompanied with a request to broadcasters to avoid selling extra airtime to "odious" candidates.

He did not specify precisely who he meant by this, but it is fair to assume that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the ultra-nationalist leader of the misnamed

Liberal Democratic Party, falls into that category. Mr Zhirinovskiy's mastery of television advertising is one reason why his party stunned the outside world in the 1993 elections by winning 22.9 per cent of the vote — well ahead of its rivals. His ratings have since plummeted.

President Yeltsin appeared on television yesterday for the third time since he was taken to hospital and jokingly told cameramen to photograph him from all sides to prove he is not paralysed, AP reports.

Meeting Mr Chernomyrdin in the presence of a camera crew and photographers, Mr Yeltsin then circled a small table to display himself from all sides.

Mandela's old nemesis warns of disaster

ROBERT BLOCK
Johannesburg

The world's most famous former jailbird, Nelson Mandela, and his ex-jailer, PW Botha, met yesterday for a "frank" exchange of views of right-wing threats and the state of government in South Africa.

The meeting at the south coast resort town of The Wilderness was called by President Mandela to discuss the pending trial of a former defence minister, Magnus Malan, and 10 other officers for 13 apartheid-era murders. Their

arrest has angered conservative whites who have accused Mr Mandela of launching a "witch-hunt" against former rulers.

"If General Malan ... and others are prosecuted in a wrong way, then things can lead to disaster and I want to stop that road to disaster," Mr Botha said yesterday.

Mr Mandela said the men were indicted by an independent judiciary, not by the government. He rejected the former president's request to call a moratorium on prosecutions of apartheid-era leaders until the Truth and Reconcili-

ation Commission has been established next year. The commission has the power to hear and grant amnesty for old regime crimes.

Asked about whether he planned to appear before the body, Mr Botha replied: "I am not going to the Truth Commission. I am not going to repent. I am not going to ask for favours. What I did, I did for my country, for my God, for my people and for all the people of South Africa."

Mr Mandela had visited Mr Botha several times before but yesterday's meeting was his first

public encounter with the man who refused to release him from political imprisonment that lasted 27 years until 1990.

The President listened to his erstwhile nemesis lecture him about the Afrikaner commitment to freedom and the dangers of waking the "tiger" of black and white nationalism. He also told Mr Mandela to "stop the rot" he believes has set in since white rule ended last year.

Mr Botha commended Mr Mandela for looking after "Tynhuys", the presidential office in Cape Town, but went on to attack the importation of foreign

ideas. "I said to the President, you cannot in South Africa succeed by transplanting an American system of government and that is what we are having today."

"I believe that this present confused situation will destroy the President himself if he doesn't take care of the wrong directions certain people are taking."

Mr Mandela responded with a homily on the need for reconciliation and a warning that "the masses of South Africa's people ... will pick up stones to bring down bombers" in defence of the freedom they won in last year's elections.



Encounter: Mr Botha and President Mandela yesterday

Europe to slam door on asylum-seekers

SARAH HELM
Brussels

European leaders are tomorrow expected to agree harsh new barriers designed to restrict the rights of refugees to seek protection on European soil, 45 years after the Geneva Conventions enshrined the rights of refugees.

People fleeing civil wars, or seeking refuge from insurgent groups who are not under state control, will no longer have the right to claim asylum, according to a confidential text to be agreed by European Union

justice ministers. Member states are expected to grant themselves new powers to send back asylum seekers, including those who have proved their status as genuine refugees.

The new measures, in line with Britain's new tough stance on asylum, represent the most serious attempt yet by EU member states to halt the flow of asylum seekers and immigrants into Europe. UN officials and human rights bodies fear that the measures will prevent genuine refugees from reaching Europe. They say Europe is now signalling that it is determined

to speed up repatriation of unwanted "foreigners".

Had the measures been taken five years ago it is doubtful whether many refugees from the former Yugoslavia - often defined as a civil war - would have had the automatic right to claim asylum. And those fleeing persecution from dissident groups in Algeria could not now argue that they are fleeing persecution of the "state".

Concern about the measures has been heightened by the secrecy in which they have been drawn up. The draft Council Act, to be presented for a vote

today, has been drawn up behind closed doors by the K4 committee of senior European officials, with no meaningful consultation from the European Parliament or human rights bodies.

"The text severely limits the rights of refugees under the existing convention and confirms the European tendency to take the most restrictive interpretation," said Johannes Van de Klauw, of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Brussels.

The new measure is being agreed as a "joint action" which

means it is not binding on member states. However, refugee bodies say it will now be used as the benchmark.

The 1951 Geneva Convention, agreed in the wake of massive refugee flows after the Second World War, states that asylum should be offered to anyone with a "well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion".

The question of whether or not persecution occurred in a civil war or other internal armed conflict in the country of origin

was irrelevant to whether a refugee could claim asylum. The key question was whether the person had a "well-founded fear" or persecution based on one of the tests in the definition.

The proposed new agreement, however, states: "Reference to a civil war or internal or generalised armed conflict and the dangers which it entails is not in itself sufficient to warrant the grant of refugee status."

Although it has been generally accepted that persecution often results from the actions of a state, the Geneva Conventions do not refer specifically to ac-

tion by a state or state authority. Nowadays refugees are increasingly fleeing persecution from armed militias or insurgent groups involved in internal conflicts. The UNHCR member states against limiting the concept of "persecution" to those fleeing actions by states.

However, the new draft agreement states: "Persecution is generally the act of a State or government. Persecution by 'third parties' can only be recognised by Europe if it is 'encouraged or permitted by those authorities'."

For the first time since 1951,

Europe is now granting itself powers to send people classified as genuine refugees back to the country they came from, albeit to a "safer" part of that country. If it is decided that the person can find "effective protection" in another part of his country of origin he can be sent back there, states the draft agreement.

Refugee agencies argue that such repatriation runs very high risks, and should certainly not be carried out if the person concerned fled state torture. The draft agreement contains no such safeguards.

Students take to the streets in 1968-style

MARY DEJEVSKY
Paris

Tens of thousands of students across France - and their teachers - took to the streets yesterday to protest against lack of funds and overcrowding in higher education. The demonstrations, in major cities, including Paris, Toulouse, Dijon and Grenoble, coincided with all-out strikes and sit-ins at universities and colleges and prompted doom-laden comparisons with the student revolt of 1968.

The demonstration in Paris, supported by almost 30,000 college and lycée students - making it by far the largest demonstration in the capital since Mr Chirac became president - dissolved into brief, but violent, scuffles with riot police when a large group of students refused to disperse. Stones and bottles were thrown, smashing windows at fashionable shops and cafes on Boulevard Saint Germain, the students' traditional marching route on the Left Bank. The violence, which seemed deliberately fomented by agents provocateurs, ended with the arrival of helmeted troops and a heavy rain shower.

Carrying home-made banners attacking François Bayrou, the education minister - "Bayrou: Our grants or your life!" and President Jacques Chirac - "Down with the Bayrou-Chirac budget", the marchers brought much of the Left Bank to a halt. At the head of the procession were students from Metz university in Alsace, and from Rouen, where the latest round of student unrest began.

After the Rouen students began their strike last month, their cause - and that of other universities - was assisted by the publication of figures showing wide discrepancies in funding levels between universities, with La Rochelle on the Atlantic coast particularly well-off, and Rouen poorly funded. A mediator appointed by Mr Bayrou to consider the complaints at Rouen decided within a week of being appointed that two-thirds of the required funds should be



Street-wise: Students charge across Paris's Boulevard St Michel in their protest against university under-funding

Photograph: AFP

"unfrozen", and some of the 200 vacant posts filled.

The success of the Rouen action undoubtedly fuelled protests at other universities, and yesterday, as the students marched through Paris not a mile from the National Assembly, Mr Bayrou said he would be announcing details of a general emergency plan for universities within a few hours. The main complaints of the

students are that their departments are over-crowded and that teachers, teaching space and technical support are all inadequate. Some of the shortages result from successive freezes in funds ordered as part of the government's overall effort to control the domestic budget deficit. Others stem from the rapid increase in student numbers. This year's academic year began with a total of 2.2 million

students, of whom 1.6 million were at universities - 46,000 more than last year.

While education budget is the highest of all government budgets, with higher education alone costing every man, woman and child in France 1,400 francs (£185) a year, it still seems inadequate.

A visit to almost any French university, from old, august, institutions like the Sorbonne in

Paris, to some of the newest, reveals neglect and squalor on a large scale.

Staff and lecture hall shortages mean that courses are shut down at short notice because not enough students want to attend or there is no one to teach them, while others are vastly oversubscribed and people queue from early morning to get in.

One reason for the over-

crowding is that anyone with the equivalent of A-levels in England is entitled to a university place, yet successive calls for selection have provoked protest from students, parents and teachers alike.

The youth unemployment rate - one in four of those under-25 is unemployed - has also encouraged school-leavers to stay in education.

Setback for California aliens law

DAVID USBORNE
New York

In a blow to the burgeoning anti-immigration movement in the United States, a federal judge has struck down large parts of a draconian law passed by Californian voters last year to bar illegal aliens from schools and hospitals.

Judge Marian Pfaelzer delivered a long awaited 71-page ruling in Los Angeles, declaring unconstitutional many of the most essential elements of the law, in particular those denying undocumented immigrants access to federally-funded education and medical treatment.

The decision is an embarrassing setback for the Governor of California, Pete Wilson, who championed the measure, known as Proposition 187. After bitter campaigning by both sides the law was approved by voters by a 3-to-2 margin last autumn.

Its passage gave impetus to a nationwide movement towards tough new action against illegal immigrants and spurred other states, notably Florida and Arizona, to begin work on similar kinds of legislation. Congress has also begun drafting new laws to lower immigration levels.

Mr Wilson said the judge's ruling was "very unfortunate". It frustrates the will of the people of California. He vowed to appeal against the decision and suggested that the issue would ultimately have to be resolved by the Supreme Court.

In her ruling, Judge Pfaelzer essentially gutted Proposition 187. Among the elements that she overturned was a provision that would have obliged hospital workers and school administrators to report to the authorities any undocumented

aliens seeking their services, thus, in effect, turning them into part-time immigration agents for the government.

Judge Pfaelzer left open, however, the possibility that illegal aliens could none the less be denied services funded by the state of California itself, including such things as college education.

"It's a plus for us, a complicated plus," remarked Stephen Yagman, a Los Angeles lawyer at the forefront of the opposition to Proposition 187. "But we always assumed this would be a long, long fight, probably all the way to the US Supreme Court."

California has the most diverse ethnic mix of any American state. Backing for Proposition 187 was fuelled by supporters' claims that huge numbers of aliens were flooding across California's southern border with Mexico and adding billions of dollars to the burden of taxpayers by using public services such as schools and hospitals.

Opponents of Proposition 187 argued that its implementation would have little impact on immigration flows while worsening the plight of a large under-class in the state and stoking social tensions. There was also concern that the law would encourage anti-immigrant - and especially anti-Hispanic - bigotry that would have hurt legal and illegal aliens alike.

It is estimated that in California, roughly one in five of the immigrant population entered illegally. In recent months, the federal government has launched a largely effective military-style campaign to shut down the flow of aliens from Central and South America into California, Arizona and Texas.

SS man arrives to face massacre trial

ANDREW GUMBEL
Rome

One of the world's last major suspected Nazi war criminals, the former SS captain Erich Priebke, was extradited from Argentina to Italy yesterday to face trial for his role in the 1944 massacre of 335 Jews and resistance fighters in the Ardeatine Caves on the outskirts of Rome.

The 82-year-old, looking relaxed and wearing a Tyrolean hat, arrived at Ciampino airport on board a small Falcon military aircraft in the early hours escorted by 10 Italian police officers and a medical team. He was then taken into custody at the Forte Bocca military prison pending his first preliminary court hearing on 7 December.

His will be the first war crimes trial in Italy since the immediate postwar period, and looks likely to revive uncomfortable memories and pose uncomfortable questions about how such a notorious figure managed to evade detection, much less justice, for almost half a century.

Captain Priebke was part of the SS team ordered to round up Italians in retaliation for the killing of 33 German soldiers



Erich Priebke: Relaxed

blown up by a bomb in central Rome.

Prosecutors believe he was responsible for drawing up the list of victims - 10 for every German killed - and may have killed some of them personally.

The victims, flushed out of the city's jails or rounded up at their homes, were driven out to the caves and shot in groups of five. The youngest of them was just 15 years old.

The caves were then mined in a half-successful attempt to cover up what was to become known as the worst wartime atrocity committed in Italy.

Erich Priebke was captured at the end of the war, but escaped from a prisoner of war

camp in Rimini and fled to South America. The Italian authorities gave him up as missing in the 1960s, but he lived openly as a botanist in the mountain resort of San Carlo de Bariloche in Patagonia.

It was thanks to the efforts of an American ABC television team which tracked him down and interviewed him 18 months ago, that the justice authorities were able to reopen the case and apply for his extradition.

The military prosecutors admit they will not have an easy time proving their case, particularly since nearly all witnesses to the massacre are now dead. It is not clear, for example, if the last five victims - surplus to the number demanded by Berlin - were deliberately added by Priebke or simply the result of a bureaucratic "error".

The prosecutors have hinted, however, that they have an eyewitness, as well as incriminating evidence gathered during the 1948 trial which passed a life sentence on Priebke's superior, Herbert Kappler, who was Gestapo chief for Rome.

Mr Priebke claims that a senior Catholic churchman helped him flee the country, and that he returned to Italy with impunity several times over the years with high-level blessing. He insists that any wrong-doing on his part was the consequence of obeying orders.

Italy's record in prosecuting the caves case is less than brilliant. Not only did the 1948 court acquit four of Priebke's colleagues, arguing that they had no choice but to do what they were told; but the one defendant they convicted, Kappler, also managed to escape in 1977. He died a year later Germany.

IN BRIEF

Che Guevara's grave identified

New York - The bullet-riddled body of the legendary guerrilla, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, lies in a mass grave under an airstrip in Vallegrande in southern Bolivia, about 300 miles south-east of the capital, La Paz, a retired army general told the New York Times. "Enough time has passed, and it's time the world knows," General Mario Vargas Salinas said. Guevara was an Argentine doctor who fought with Fidel Castro in Cuba until he returned to South America to foment revolution. He was killed by soldiers in the Bolivian jungle in October 1967. Gen Vargas was a member of the Bolivian army patrol that ambushed the guerrilla column led by Guevara in Quebrada Vado del Yeso, 435 miles southeast of La Paz. Guevara, then 39, and his men were executed. Gen Vargas told the Times he saw Argentine agents cut off his hands and make a death mask. The rebels were then buried at night, and the bodies never were uncovered. AP

Japanese PM in Okinawa lawsuit

Tokyo - The Japanese Prime Minister, Tomichi Murayama, yesterday took the humiliating step of announcing legal action against the governor of Okinawa, to force the continued rent of land to the American bases stationed on the island, writes Richard Lloyd Parry. The decision had been expected for several weeks but Mr Murayama, a lifelong socialist who until last year opposed the very existence of US forces in Japan, has procrastinated until the very last moment. "This is a tough but necessary decision to maintain the Japan-US security alliance," he said.

World's tallest building for Shanghai

Peking - A Japanese property management company says it plans to build the world's tallest building in Shanghai. The 460-meter (1,509-ft)-high, 95-story International Financial Center Tower will replace the 436-meter (1,430-ft), 100-story Sears Tower in Chicago as the tallest building. Junmian Mori, president of the Forest Overseas Co. Ltd., said. Construction will start before spring 1997 and be completed by 2001, he said. The building will be built in Pudong, a development zone in Shanghai. AP

Indian bomb injures 22

New Delhi - Some 22 people were injured, one seriously, when a bomb planted in a metal container exploded last night outside a popular restaurant in the heart of the Indian capital. Police said the blast hit the central Connaught Place shopping area at about 7:40 p.m. At least 15 parked cars were smashed and scores of shops in the fashionable area were damaged. A telephone caller who identified himself as a spokesman for the Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Front told news organisations that the previously unknown militant organisation claimed responsibility for the blast. Reuters

Specter quits White House race

Washington - Pennsylvania Senator Arlen Specter has decided to quit his Republican presidential bid because of poor fund-raising, campaign officials said. Mr Specter's departure would leave the field of major Republican presidential aspirants at eight, with Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole in the lead for the 1996 nomination. Mr Specter, 65, one of the least conservative Republican candidates, offered himself as the standard bearer for abortion rights. AP

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Water filter: Paul Edwards, of the National Rivers Authority, taking samples from an experimental wetland mix of reeds and compost mulch used to reduce levels of iron being discharged from flooded mine workings in the Peledda river valley, south Wales. Photograph: Rob Stratton

Camelot is lottery's big winner, with £1m a week profits

REBECCA FOWLER

Camelot, the National Lottery organiser, announced its interim results yesterday and hinted at plans to launch lotteries abroad amid growing concern over the profits it is making.

The results showed that a year after the lottery was launched Camelot is generating nearly £1m a week in profit for itself from the weekly draw and scratchcard games. That is a return of one penny in every pound for shareholders, who will receive an interim dividend of £9.5m in total, their first since their initial investment.

In the 24 weeks to 16 September, profits after tax were £23.6m, from £2.5bn worth of sales. For that period £678.8m, 27 per cent of turnover, went to the good causes funds.

David Rigg, communications director of Camelot, defended the profits yesterday. "They show we've got off to an extremely good start, and raised enormous amounts of money for good causes," he said. "It may sound like a terrible lot of money, but investors put up an awful lot more to get the lottery started."

Company directors say the lottery has cost £115m in capital expenditure. Running costs are £82.7m.

The public spends on average each week £65m on the big draw and £25m on scratchcards. Camelot has a number of new initiatives planned, including a midweek draw. In other countries lotteries have reached burn-out, including those in Florida and California in the United States.

Tim Holley, Camelot's chief executive, says the National Lottery aims to be the most efficient in the world, in terms of the money it returns to the good causes boards - arts, heritage, charity, sports and the millennium.

It now comes second, behind New Jersey, in the US, where 41 per cent of turnover goes to the government or good causes.

Camelot defended its effectiveness, pointing out that the more money it generates, the

smaller the percentage it is able to take in profit. If sales go above 3.7bn, the amount it can cream off for cost and profit goes down to 1.65 per cent.

The Government has taken a further 13 per cent in lottery duty, tax and VAT, amounting to £326.5m for the period of the interim results, and £1bn in lottery tax for the game's first year.

Camelot said it would not rule out investing in new lotteries starting up abroad, despite British legislation. "People from abroad obviously come and talk to us about what we might be able to offer, in terms of management and investment elsewhere," Mr Holley said. "It would be a question of going back to the Government and saying can we look at this legislation again?"

Camelot should be required to open its books to the National Audit Office, the public finance watchdog, MPs are demanding. The Commons early day motion, tabled by Liberal Democrats with Labour backbench support, comes amid concern that shareholders have enjoyed double profits - through contracts to supply computer terminals and printed entry slips, and sharing dividends.

SAS executed IRA suspects, 'soldier' claims

CHRISTOPHER BELLAMY
Defence Correspondent

A book published today claims the SAS executed 27 IRA suspects in Northern Ireland in 1971 and 1972 in a covert operation codenamed "Nemesis". The author, using the pseudonym Paul Bruce, claims to have been a young SAS soldier and, as a member of a team of four, executed the suspects and buried them in two graves in remote countryside near the border between northern and southern Ireland.

The Ministry of Defence denied the allegations that the squad had existed and carried out the "executions". The MoD said it would try to check whether the author had actually belonged to the elite unit.

The author appeared at a press conference yesterday to launch the hardback book, *The Nemesis File*, published by Blake. He wore a black balaclava, apparently to conceal his identity. He claimed to have been threatened by the IRA. Questioned by reporters his knowledge of SAS organisation and procedures appeared vague, but John Blake, the publisher, said: "We checked it out very thoroughly, in every way." He said Mr Bruce was very nervous and this might explain his unconvincing answers.

Mr Bruce said he had joined the Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers before passing the SAS selection and being sent instead to Northern Ireland at the start of the Troubles. The group of four - a standard SAS unit - would pick up the victims on the border. He said many had been captured in the Republic by other SAS soldiers, although later the victims had been picked up on streets in the north. He refused to elaborate on why there were no reports of 27 people going missing.

The victims were then taken to a site off Blackskull Road between Dromore, Co Down, and Lurgan, Co Armagh. He said they were then shot in the back of the head with a 9mm pistol and pushed into graves already dug. Later a second site was allegedly established in remote Tardree Forest.

Mr Bruce said the experience had ruined his life and he left the SAS and the Army in 1972. "We didn't want to build up any sort of relationship with them. No names, nothing... We usually told them they were being taken to the RUC."

The publisher refused to speculate on the legal consequences of Mr Bruce's claim.

Robert Maxwell and his son, Kevin, deliberately used shares they knew belonged to the pension fund to support the selfish interests of the private Maxwell companies, a jury was told yesterday.

On the first day of the prosecution's closing speech, Alan Suckling QC, told the Old Bailey that pledging and selling the shares "was not in the pensioners' interests. It was a sheer gamble, was it not, a gamble with other peoples' assets".

By July 1991, father and son knew the Robert Maxwell Group was in desperate financial straits, so they used £100m of shares in the Israeli company Scitex, which they knew belonged to the pension fund, to stave off the crisis.

Mr Suckling said they knew they were putting the pension fund at risk by pledging the shares against bank loans and selling them to pay private company debts. They knew they were acting dishonestly and as the crisis deepened Kevin lied to and misled banks to secure more time and support.

When father and son decided to use the Scitex shares, it was not in the interest of the pension fund, he said. "The truth is they didn't care. They were only interested in saving the Maxwell empire. You have heard of some of the earnings

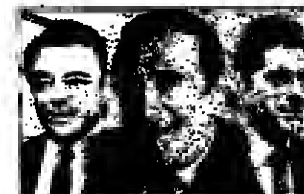
they earned but of course that is not the whole story, is it? The Maxwell empire gave power and created wealth and it cannot have been a desire to lose that. It was to save all that, was it not, that pension fund shares were used in this way. The motive was that they had to."

Kevin Maxwell, his brother, Ian, and Larry Trachtenberg, a former Maxwell financial adviser, deny conspiracy to defraud by misusing £22m worth of shares in Teva, another Israeli company. Kevin alone denies a similar charge of conspiring with his father in relation to the Scitex shares, and it was this charge that Mr Suckling concentrated on yesterday.

He reminded the jury that Kevin, during his evidence, had admitted lying to banks. He also said that no doubt Imro, the City investment regulator, and Coopers & Lybrand could have been more vigilant, but none of the professionals knew the whole picture of group debts. The trial continues today.

Father and son 'gambled assets'

JOHN WILLOCK
Financial Correspondent



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and those of Japan in the past decade," says the Asian Studies Center director in London. "The two approaches are very different. The Japanese approach is to have a high level of government involvement in the economy, while the American approach is to have a high level of government involvement in the economy, while the American approach is to have a high level of government involvement in the economy."

Peres form

Aviv (AP)—Shimon Peres, leader of the new coalition government, today named the members of his new cabinet.

Mr. Peres said he was ready to assume a "constructive" role after the election, but he said the coalition government's predecessor, Yitzhak Rabin, had established a government "without a clear mission and without opportunity to carry out a crisis program."

Aviv, he said, was his new cabinet's "outgoing role," and he said he was like Rabin, "not a peace partisan."

He took over the top job. In an interview, he said the former prime minister would be "deputy" to his brother-in-law, Yisrael Rabin, and his sister Elmad Barak.

Aviv said he was a former army officer and a member of the Foreign Ministry.

Police pa

inside columns of the newspaper, after the sinking of the rocket off the coast of the Israeli town of Herzliya. Near Tel Aviv in the Kalye neighborhood, the sink rocket was fired at a building. In Constantinople, a cylinder packed with explosives was pushed by a crowd and exploded in a front. In Turkey, four Israelis were killed and 100 others were injured. Days near a polling station in Turkey, it seems, is a dangerous and difficult to predict the elections and the inspection of the Islamic Front (FIS) by the Algerian voters.

Two days before the poll, which the now-banned FIS is hidden from participants and supplementary police had

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Jordan mounts campaign to oust Saddam

PATRICK COCKBURN

King Hussein of Jordan has moved decisively against Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader, by sending a special envoy to London to invite Iraqi opposition groups to meet in Amman. Laith Kubba, a long-standing opponent of the Iraqi regime who met the Jordanian envoy, said: "The idea is to have a national reconciliation meeting between Shia, Sunni and Kurds."

President Saddam is likely to be deeply worried by this threat to Iraq's last remaining link to the outside world. The king's shift towards the opposition increases Baghdad's isolation, as Jordan maintained a friendly neutrality to Iraq during the war with Iran and the Gulf war over Kuwait.

The Iraqi opposition is divided between Kurds in the north, Sunni Muslims in the centre and Shia Muslims in the south.

Kamran Karadaghi, a specialist on Iraq working for the Arab daily *al-Hayat*, says King Hussein believes that "Iraqi society needs reconciliation between its major sections."

Although King Hussein is at present in London, which is the European centre for Iraqi calls, contacts with the Iraqi opposition are being conducted by his envoy, known as Mohammed Ali. Opposition sources said yesterday that they did not believe the king would oppose Iraq without encouragement from the US and Britain.

The change in attitude became apparent when Lieutenant-General Hussein Kamel,

President Saddam's son-in-law, fled to Jordan in August.

The king began to take a more hostile attitude to Baghdad. In an interview with *Newsweek* last month he spoke of the "tremendous fear" in Iraq of a bloodbath between Sunnis, Shias and Kurds. President Saddam has played on these divisions to stay in power.

The king said the way out for Iraq was to "get together credible representation from these three great concentrations of people and work out a national reconciliation between them and probably a new constitution. The time has come to look at the possibility of a federation or a federal state in Iraq."

Opponents of the regime in Baghdad believe they will be more effective if they are based in Amman and not in Kurdistan, which hitherto has been the centre of resistance to the regime. Mr Kubba says he would like to see "a skeleton administration" for Iraq, if not a government in exile.

The success of King Hussein's plan depends on his ability to



Hussein: Uniting opposition

win the trust of the Iraqi army, over which President Saddam has maintained full control since his defeat in the Gulf war. But his plans may encounter fierce opposition from Syria and Iran, which do not want to see President Saddam replaced by a pro-American regime.

President Saddam has suffered two serious blows this year. First there was the defection of two of his sons-in-law and his daughters in August.

Then he may have miscalculated by releasing documentation about Iraq's biological and chemical warfare plans to the UN mission, led by Rolf Ekus, which monitored the destruction of Iraq's super-weapons. Mr Ekus says Iraq is still concealing information and the UN Security Council is united over the need to maintain sanctions.

General Kamel is unlikely to play an important part in Jordan's plans. His movements in Amman are severely restricted, and Syria changed its mind about inviting him to Damascus earlier this month. He has been unable to establish relations with the Iraqi opposition, which remains suspicious of a former chief lieutenant of President Saddam. "They don't rule him out and they don't rule him in," one source said.

The king's move will be opposed by many in Jordan, where there is still some sympathy for the Iraqi leader. Last month a Jordanian journalist was arrested for publishing an article citing officials as saying 42 top Jordanian businessmen, journalists, officials and a minister were in Iraq's pay.

Colombo clampdown: Press kept at bay as civil war reaches showdown



First aid: Medics treat a wounded comrade after the storming of the Tamil Tiger stronghold of Jaffna

Photograph: AFP

Media repulsed in battle of Jaffna

TIM MCGRIK
Colombo

Photographers and platoons of television crews who left Bosnia for Sri Lanka could only curse their luck and go down to the swimming pool at one of Colombo's hotels.

Geography and the Sri Lankan censors have conspired to make this war impossible for newsmen. Over 70 foreign journalists and 10 television crews rushed here in mid-October to report on a decisive phase in Sri Lanka's 13-year war against the Tamil Tiger rebels: the siege of the rebel fortress-city of Jaffna. But cameras went unclicked, and punchy war reporting delivered by television newsmen fell flat against the cheery backdrop of Colombo's seaside promenade, where lovers eat pineapple and boys fly kites. The fighting was hundreds of miles away.

The besieged citadel of

Jaffna lies on a long peninsula jutting from the northern tip of Sri Lanka. On one side it is the sea, patrolled by the Indian navy, which is helping the Sri Lankans because India blames the Tamil Tigers for murdering Rajiv Gandhi. So no sailor has been found willing to hire his boat to journalists and sail into the war zone.

On the other side is a wide lagoon and beyond that, rice paddies and then jungle, all still under Tiger control. A dangerous no man's land of jungle separates the rebel territory from the army's front lines. The military refuses to let any journalist into the Tigers' area.

An Indian television crew was held for five hours yesterday for venturing up to an army checkpoint in Vavuniya, still several miles away from the front lines. Earlier, an army patrol in the eastern jungles stumbled on a British film crew waiting for a Tiger contact who

was supposed to guide them up to Jaffna. They were arrested and made to leave Sri Lanka.

The geographical obstacles to journalists suit the government: officials have promised to fly journalists to the war zone, but only when Jaffna has been conquered. The army yesterday

Censors have made this war impossible for newsmen

thrust deeper inside the city but has encountered stiff resistance and booby-traps laid by the rebels. One Tiger trap set off a string of explosions that blew up 19 houses, killing and wounding many soldiers.

Colombo officials say journalists will only be allowed

in every tourist brochure, was banned, along with the name of the army commander. These dispatches, often cut into nonsense, are all that are available. Without accurate news, Colombo has become a city that feeds on rumour and fear. Tamil suicide bombers have killed many politicians and generals in Colombo, and the danger exists that they might strike again at any time.

Ordinary Tamils are now branded as suspect. Since the cease-fire with the Tigers broke down in April, over 1,000 Tamils have been rounded up in Colombo and jailed.

Neelan Tiruchelvam, a Tamil MP said: "There's been tremendous harassment of Tamils." Human-rights activists claim that Tamil priests have been dragged from Hindu temples and put in prison, and that police often raid Tamil cinemas, arresting 30 to 40 people at a time.

But the censor sometimes wields his scissors absurdly. The road distance between Colombo and Jaffna, contained

Peres forms new cabinet

Tel Aviv (AP) — Shimon Peres signed coalition agreements with two smaller parties yesterday and named the members of his new cabinet.

Mr Peres said he moved quickly to assure a smooth transition after the assassination of his predecessor, Yitzhak Rabin, on 4 November. "Our plan was to establish a government at the earliest opportunity in order not to leave a crisis situation in the country," he said.

His new cabinet is similar to the outgoing one, with Mr Peres, like Rabin, holding the defence portfolio in addition to the top job. In an important change, the former interior minister Ehud Barak, a popular former army chief, was named Foreign Minister.

"We will stand together as one to advance Israel, advance peace, strengthen security and go forward with our heads raised," Mr Peres told Labour Party members in Tel Aviv.

Mr Peres said he would present his new government to parliament today for approval. Several opposition parties said they will abstain to demonstrate unity after Rabin's killing.

Mr Peres formed the same coalition that was in power at the time of Rabin's death, consisting of the Labour Party, the dovish Meretz bloc and the small Yehud faction, a breakaway group from the right-wing opposition Tzomet Party.

Labour controls 44 seats in the 120-member parliament, Meretz has 12 and Yehud has

two. Five Arab deputies should guarantee a 63-57 vote.

Mr Peres has been trying to negotiate an understanding with the religious Shas Party, which does not oppose the peace policy but will not join the coalition.

Other cabinet changes include the appointment as Economics Minister of Yossi Beilin, an outspoken dove. He will be "minister in the prime minister's office", working closely with Mr Peres on advancing the peace process. The police minister, Moshe Shahal, becomes Interior Security Minister with broadened powers to crack down on Jewish extremists. Haim Ramon, a popular former health minister, will be Interior Minister.

Police pay bloody price as Algiers claims civil war victory

In the inside columns of the Algerian press, a few sinister facts are emerging after the euphoria of last week's election of President Liamine Zerrouk. Near Tadmait, in the Kabyle mountains, an anti-tank rocket was fired at a polling station. In Constantine, a gas cylinder packed with explosives was defused by a bomb disposal squad in a hotel. In Tlemcen, four Islamists were killed by troops near a polling booth. Peace, it seems, is a slippery commodity, difficult to achieve despite elections and the apparent rejection of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) by 75 per cent of Algeria's voters.

Only days before the poll — in which the now-banned FIS was forbidden from participating — paramilitary police had

Islamist 'sleepers' bide their time in the cities while armed comrades fight on, reports Robert Fisk

claimed yet another success in their war against "terrorism": the destruction of an Armed Islamic Group (GIA) cell in the Kabyle capital of Tizi Ouzou. Arezki Ait Ziane — real name Mourad Khalil — and his six GIA comrades were surrounded in an apartment block and, after hours of vain negotiations, shot down when the police stormed the building. Inside the flat, the police found a dead woman, six months pregnant, who had been shot in the head. She was Khalil's wife, they claimed, murdered by her husband in the seconds before he himself was killed in a hail of gunfire.

Did the GIA leader really

slaughter his own wife in the seconds before his death? The Algerian authorities quickly announced that Khalil had been responsible for the murder of a university professor and a Tizi Ouzou journalist called Said Tazout as well as the kidnapping of Lounes Matoub, a local Kabyle singer who was abducted earlier this year and released after mass demonstrations by the Berber population of Tizi Ouzou. The GIA, so the government would have the world believe, was on the run even before the elections.

In the barracks of the gendarmerie, Commandant Mohamed — like most cops, he

doesn't want his family name published — makes no such claims. He produces a piece of transparent paper on which are glued the passport photographs of almost 20 policemen. "This man was kidnapped near the garage of his home," he says, pointing to a youth staring into a police camera. "They got him when he was on his own at the start of the year. We later found a corpse inside a blanket but it was unrecognisable. We found his car burned out near by. It must have been his body, but we were never able to say so for sure. We shall not see him again."

More disturbing are the next

10 photographs, all of paramilitary policemen, most of them in their early 20s, every one killed on the railway line between Algiers and Oran. Commandant Mohamed pulls out sheets of paper from the Algerian railway authorities, each bearing illustrations of French steam locomotives hauling trucks and petrol wagons. "We put 75 policemen on the freight trains to and from Oran every day," he says. "We don't tell anyone where the policemen are on the train; we can put them at the front, in the middle, the back and the front, wherever we want."

But secrecy has not saved their lives. On 18 May this

year, three of Commandant Mohamed's cops were riding the night freight train to Oran when it was ambushed near Boufarik about 30 miles from the capital, blown off the tracks by explosives and then attacked by at least 40 armed men — half a company of uniformed Islamists with automatic weapons. Three policemen were shot dead and another five wounded.

Worse was to come. On 2 August the night petrol train from Oran to Algiers was blown off the tracks at Oumedroun near Chlef. Commandant Mohamed's men had been riding in a freight car behind the last petrol truck, and their wagon

leapt the rails and overturned down the railway embankment. Those policemen who survived the impact were drowned in petrol as the contents of the nearest wagon poured into the wreckage of their carriage.

On 16 October, another attack was staged against a train near Chaibia and another two members of the gendarmerie were killed.

What troubles the commandant and his colleagues, however, is the belief that the GIA have left "sleepers" in the big cities of Algeria, young men and women who have been instructed to lead ordinary lives as long as the paramilitary campaign against the

guerrillas is maintained. "They are there and they have not disappeared," he says. "Some have been killed, some captured, some have come across and helped the authorities. But not all of them. There are those who are waiting for the holes in our not to get wider again."

Of course, this may be over-cautious — pessimism from a police officer who knows better than to boast, someone who says "touch wood" when you ask him about victory over the GIA. But after the presumption of victory by the government and its supporters last week, the commandant's story bears a little more scrutiny. The war, if it has gone against the GIA these past months, appears to be far from over.



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obituaries / gazette

Sergei Grinkov

The Olympic pair skating champion Sergei Grinkov was practising on Monday with his wife and partner, Ekaterina Gordeeva on an ice rink at Lake Placid, New York. He had just performed a throw jump when he suffered a heart attack and later died, aged 28.

The Grinkovs were one of the most memorable pairs in the history of the sport, combining to a rare degree the conflicting requirements of artistry and athleticism in skating. They won Olympic gold medals six years apart, and many other titles too.

Sergei Grinkov was born in Moscow, the son of parents who both worked for the city's police force, and he began skating at the age of nine. He originally wanted to compete in singles events, but afterwards said he was so terrible that he had no choice but to try pairs. In 1982, when he was 15, he was teamed with a tiny 10-year-old, Ekaterina Gordeeva. He did not take



Grinkov: supreme artistry

to her at first, but in the Soviet Union skaters obeyed orders, and she was the partner officialdom had chosen for him.

Success was not long in coming. Coached by Stanislav Leonovich, who had himself won a silver medal at the 1982 World Championships, Grinkov and Gordeeva were world junior champions in 1984, a month after winning the Skate Canada international competition. Runners-up for the European title in 1986, they then became World Champions at their first attempt in Geneva.

Grinkov was by now a tall, strong young man of 19; his partner, not yet 15, measured 4ft 9in and weighed less than 60lb. Later she grew much bigger, but in their early years the disparity in size looked incongruous. In Germany they were called the "one-and-a-half pair". There was however a great advantage: Katya could easily be lifted overhead with one hand, or be hurled into the spectacular throw jumps which help make pair skating so much more dramatic than ice dancing.

They won three more world titles, losing only in 1988 to their compatriots Oleg and Elena Vasiliev. They had mixed fortunes in the European event. In a curious episode in 1987, they were disqualified. Grinkov's boot strap came loose during their performance, and the referee, seeing this as a safety hazard, stopped the music. They continued skating in silence, after which the referee told them they must re-skate at the end of the competition. They refused

to do so. They won in 1988 and 1990, but injury prevented them from competing at Birmingham in 1992.

Having won the Olympic gold medal in Calgary in 1988, they decided to retire and turn professional in 1990. They married that year, and their daughter, Daria, was born in summer 1992.

They competed in professional championships, and then - like Christopher Dean and Jayne Torvill - took advantage of the unprecedented decision by the International Olympic Committee to allow professionals to skate in the 1994 Olympic Winter Games at Hamar, near Lillehammer. The Grinkovs again took the gold medal as well as winning a third European title to crown a career which was notable for brilliant lifts, steps, and triple jumps, and supreme artistry in interpreting music as varied as Mozart, Beethoven, "Tico Tico", and honky-tonk. Sergei's strength and Katya's happy personality combined in a partnership rightly described by the leading coach Betty Callaway as "absolutely superb".

Dennis L. Bird

Sergei Grinkov, skater: born Moscow 4 February 1967; partnered by Ekaterina Gordeeva 1982-93; European Champion 1983, 1984, 1987, 1989, 1990; Olympic Gold Medalist 1988, 1994; married 1990 Ekaterina Gordeeva (one daughter); died Saranac Lake, New York 20 November 1995.



Grinkov and Ekaterina Gordeeva skating to the Olympic pairs gold, 1994. Photograph: Blake Sell / Reuters

John Chant

John Chant, Director of Social Work for the Lothian Regional Council, was one of the most influential and distinctive voices in the social work profession. Lately his work was in Scotland, but he was born and bred, and remained at heart and in speech, a Somerset man.

He started life with few natural advantages; born in 1938, he lost both parents at an early age, his mother soon after his birth, and his father when he was 10 years old. Leaving school with little by way of formal qualifications, he was first apprenticed to a Wiltshire farmer, but one day it bore in on him that his prospects there were as empty as the broad horizons of the Salisbury plain, and he quit.

Chant found something nearer his true vocation in psychiatric nursing. After gaining professional qualification first at Tove Vale Hospital, near Taunton, and later through studies at Bristol Polytechnic and Edinburgh University, he became a mental health officer with Somerset County Council first at Bridgwater, then at Taunton as a social worker. Although thereafter he was, technically, an administrator, he retained the ability to assess a problem equally from the viewpoint of the person in need of his help. The capacity to view a situation "bottom up" as well as "top down" was one of his enduring strengths.

In 1974 Chant was appointed Director of Social Services in Somerset. To him fell the task of consolidating into a cohesive unit the staff drawn from three distinct disciplines from the former children's welfare and mental health departments. It was a time when many, inside and outside social services, were unsettled, even demoralised, by the swiftness and magnitude of the changes to the administrative structure. Chant worked hard to build up the morale and competence of his own staff, and to establish his credibility in the eyes of outside agencies such as the magistracy, who resented the subordination, as they saw it, of their sentencing powers to the discretion of social services workers.

At the same time he seized the opportunities offered by joint funding money available from the health authority. One initiative which gave him particular satisfaction was the removal of children from long-stay mental hospitals to specialist care under social services, in small units vastly more conducive to their well-being. This accomplished, he set about securing the same ameliorations for adults similarly confined.

Though not, even then, free from ill-health, he took on in 1981 the secretaryship of the Association of Directors of Social Services. In this role he served as a conduit through which officials of government departments could discreetly exchange practical and professional advice about the development of social services nationally.

After relinquishing this role, he was a member of the official inquiry into the death of Darren Clark, a victim of child abuse in Liverpool. In 1989, he was again called upon as an assessor to Lord Justice Butler-Sloss in the conduct of the Cleveland inquiry into child sexual abuse. The ensuing report owed not a little to the necessarily unattributed contribution of John Chant both in the drafting and the conclusions.

In 1989, after 15 years as Director in Somerset, he moved to Edinburgh, which he knew from his student days, to be Director of Social Work for the Lothian

Regional Council. He served also at national level on Task Forces in 1991 on AIDS/HIV and in 1994 on Drug Abuse.

Chant was not given to expounding theories of social work but his natural bias was in favour of those whom he saw as undeservedly denied their rightful expectations to a fulfilled and normal life. He said once that his training as a psychiatric nurse had been an admirable preparation for the hurly-burly of local government.

His recreation was angling but he regretted few fish had caused to resent him for it. His abiding solace in a crowded life, lay in the love of his family, his wife Joyce whom he met in their nursing days, and their three children in whom he took so much pride.

John Clark

John Chant was a surprise choice in 1989 as Director of Social Work for the Lothian Regional Council, a post which covered half a million people in the city of Edinburgh and 300,000 outside, writes Tam Dalyell.

Doubts that there may have been about an Englishman in a plum Scottish job evaporated when we saw his quality. As one of his eight local MPs I corresponded with him whenever there was a matter of principle involved and would then phone



Chant: community care

him to find a warm and compassionate and immensely well-briefed and perceptive man. His philosophy of community care was that proposals must ensure that the totality of resources deployed at any time to address the needs of mentally handicapped people are secured against their needs, however differently they may be used.

The last time I saw Chant was when he came to dinner at the House of Commons during the passage of the Scottish Local Government Reform Bill being discussed in committee. He was heartbroken that this frivolous and ill-thought-out measure should be set to destroy that which he and his colleagues as social work directors have so painstakingly built in the Scottish Regions such as Strathclyde, Tayside and Lothian. Knowing, I suspect, that he himself had not long to live, he parted with these words:

"In the early 1960s, the Queen sent 200 telegrams to people reaching their 100th birthday: last year the Queen sent 3,000 such telegrams of congratulation. I have tried to make the best possible provision in Lothian for an ageing population - but heaven knows what my successor in 2010 will be able to do."

Leonard Emrys John Chant, social worker: born 23 April 1938; Director of Social Services, Somerset County Council 1975-89; CBE 1986; Director of Social Work, Lothian Regional Council 1989-95; married 1963 Joyce Orr (one son, two daughters); died Edinburgh 24 October 1995.

The Most Rev John Murphy

In the history of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cardiff, John Murphy can rightly be called "The Builder", for he was the guiding force behind one of the most massive church-development programmes in the modern history of Wales.

When Murphy came to Cardiff as Archbishop in 1961 there were only two Catholic secondary schools in the whole of South Wales; before the end of the Sixties, the archdiocese had put up 14 purpose-built comprehensive schools, to meet the needs of the thousands of Catholic children in the region. Between 1960 and 1980 Murphy oversaw the building of 39 churches, 14 new secondary schools and 33 new primary schools. It was a singular and historic achievement.

Murphy was well known to the people of the Cardiff archdiocese, not just for his visita-

tions to the parishes, but also through his many pastoral letters. Murphy said, he would have liked to have been a journalist and certainly his written and spoken words always carried a punch. In his Advent pastoral letter in 1968 he warned that the church was not a democracy: its authority does not come from below, from election or from majorities. Its power comes from above. It would be tragic if the Church were to drop the external trappings of royalty to take on the internal structures of democracy. The Catholic Church is not tied down to ancestor worship, granted there are often two sides to a question. But generally the Faith of the Church indicates quite clearly which is the right side, and on those rare occasions when it doesn't, let liberty prevail.

John Aloysius Murphy was born in Birkenhead in 1905, the son of John and Elizabeth Murphy. He was educated at St Francis Xavier's College,



Murphy: words carried a punch

Birkenhead, and trained for the Catholic priesthood at the English College, Lisbon. He was ordained a priest for the Diocese of Shrewsbury in 1931. After a number of pastoral appointments in the Shrewsbury Diocese he was, at the unusually young age of 43, conse-

crated Coadjutor Bishop of Shrewsbury in February 1948, and succeeded as Bishop of Shrewsbury in June 1949.

After 12 years Murphy moved from Shrewsbury to become Archbishop of Cardiff in 1961. He had hardly settled in Cardiff before he was called to Rome to take part in the historic Second Vatican Council, a Council in which he attended every session and on which he spoke on a number of occasions.

Apart from important changes in the liturgy, one of the most significant changes after the Second Vatican Council in the life of the church has been the involvement in the drawing together of the various denominations. In this process Murphy played a leading part: he was the first Roman Catholic Co-Chairman of the World-wide Catholic/Methodist Communion. When he first

preached at a Methodist Church in South Wales in 1965, there were diplomatic discussions about what hymns and prayers could be used without causing offence to those present. By contrast, when he preached at an Anglican Eucharist at a church in Cardiff in 1983 he was given a standing ovation. In 1975 the University of Wales conferred on Murphy the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, in recognition of his contribution to the religious life of Wales.

Archbishop Murphy's retirement at the official church age of 75 was postponed by Rome for a year because of his involvement in the visit of Pope John Paul II to Britain in 1983. He watched proudly as the Pope presided at two public events in the City of Cardiff which attracted 200,000 worshippers. The last of the lead-

ing personalities of the pre-conciliar Catholic Church in Britain, John Murphy had a great presence and yet an easy relationship with people. In the words of a former Anglican Archbishop of Wales, Edwin Morris, "he had very clear ideas about where the Catholic Church stood. It never offended me. There is no charity without clarity. No one would accuse him of being anything other than a conservative but he gave great service to ecumenism."

John Owen

John Aloysius Murphy, priest: born Birkenhead 21 December 1905; ordained priest 1931; consecrated Bishop of Shrewsbury 1948; Bishop of Shrewsbury 1949-61; Archbishop of Cardiff 1961-83 (Emrys); died Malpas, Gwent 18 November 1995.

Ron Mason

In racing, a sport where luck is of paramount importance, Ron Mason deserved and enjoyed a substantial share of that gift. He was always one of life's winners.

One of the few remaining "characters" in the sport - men with a built-in epithet such as "effulgent Mick O'Toole", "the swarthy ex-cavalry officer François Mathet" - he was invariably described as "the former speedway champion Ron Mason". The son of a Gloucestershire farmer, he started his sporting life in speedway, at Belle Vue, Manchester.

Immensely likeable, exuding confidence, Mason was by the age of 30 already in a fair way of business as a haulage con-

tractor and partner in a Dublin car sales firm, in which capacity he went to sell a motor to the former top Irish jockey Aubrey Brabazon ("the Brab"). The bitter bit, Mason left the Curragh having paid Brabazon's father Cecil £600 for a colt called Fuel, who carried Mason's new red and blue colours to victory in the Irish Lincoln.

After further successes Mason bought the Guilsborough Hall estate in Northamptonshire, where he started training in 1959. Two years earlier at Doncaster sales he had bought the best of all his many bargains. The trainer Reg Hollishead remembers taking Cecil Brabazon back to the station that day and

his saying, "Nip back to the sales paddock and get Mason to give Con Collins a profit on that grey yearling." This 700-guinea purchase, Sovereign Path, trained first by Brabazon, then by Mason, became champion miler, winning eight good races including the Tetrarch Stakes at the Curragh, the Lookings at Newbury and the Queen Elizabeth II Stakes at Ascot; while on successive days at the Royal meeting at Ascot he was second in the Cork and Overly Stakes and the Wokingham Stakes before graduating to great success as a stallion.

A steady flow of winners followed for Mason. Soaring was the 1962 Royal Hunt Cup and

in 1963 Monawin (named after Mason's wife Mona and their first son Edwin) took the Lincoln. Peter Piper won the "Pitmen's Derby" (Northumberland Plate) in 1964, and the next year saw that handsome colt Track Spare win the first stalls-started event in England, at Newmarket, followed by the Middle Park Stakes and then, as a three-year-old, the St James's Palace at Royal Ascot. Petite Fath, a daughter of Sovereign Path, won the Queen Mary Stakes at Royal Ascot and the Ayr Gold Cup.

Mason had very substantial bets on a number of his winners. In each of his best seasons, 1969 and 1973, he saddled 20 win-

ners. He retired in 1973. His fellow speedway champion Jack Ormston said, "Ron was so lucky. When he gave up training to live in Australia, I trained for him and every time he came back I managed to win with them. Appropriately, his last winner, on the day after he arrived back from Australia, was Belle Vue." The BBC commentator and former jockey Jimmy Lindley says: "One day at Royal Ascot I rode two apparent no-hopers for him - at 33-1 and 100-8. Such was his charisma and confidence that, by the time I left the paddock, he had convinced me that they would both win - and they did."

Tim FitzGeorge-Parker



Mason: speedway champion

Ronald Edward George Mason, racehorse trainer, haulage contractor, speedway rider: born 1916; married Mona Savage (two sons); died Melbourn, Bedfordshire 31 October 1995.

Births, Marriages & Deaths

DEATHS

GANDY: Of Robin Oliver, mathematician and logician. Beloved brother of Gillian and Christopher. Emeritus Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford, suddenly on 20 November. Funeral arrangements to be announced later.

GREENE: Barbara, on 19 November 1995. Wife of Frederick Roy Greene, of St Nicholas Hospital, Salisbury. Mother of Julia and Elizabeth. Cremation (Family only). Service of celebration and thanksgiving at Salisbury Cathedral at 2.30pm on Monday 27 November 1995. No flowers please. Donations if desired for Salisbury Hospice Care Trust, c/o L.N. Newman Ltd, Funeral Director, Griffin House, 55 Winchester Street, Salisbury, Wiltshire SP1 1HL.

Lectures

National Gallery: Michael Kauffman, "Archangels" (4); Saint Michael - "Weigher of Souls and Slayer of Dragons", 1pm.

Victoria and Albert Museum: Sarah Bowles, "Continental Baroque Furniture", 2.30pm.

Tate Gallery: Richard Cork in conversation with Andrew Brighton about the Turner Prize, 1pm.

British Museum: Patricia Barker, "Islamic Textiles: the Oncoman Court", 1.15pm.

National Portrait Gallery: Royal Society Lunch Time Science Lectures: Professor Judith Howard, "Many Hands Make Life Work": discussions on the portrait of Dorothy Hodgkin by Maggie Hambling, 1.10pm.

Birthdays

The Right Rev Michael Adie, former Bishop of Guildford, 66; The Rev Lord Beaumont of Whitley, priest and writer, 67; Mr Boris Becker, tennis champion, 28; Mr John Bird, actor, 59; Mr John Cleary, novelist, 78; Mr Tom Conti, actor and director, 53; Mr Brian Dancer, former Headmaster, St Dunstons College, Cardiff, 66; Brigadier Hilary Dixon-Nuttall, MAtron-in-Chief and Director, Army Nursing Services, 56; Mr Terry Gilliam, animator, writer and director, 55; Sir Peter Hall, theatre director, 65; Lord Hanley, Minister of State, Education and Employment, 42; Sir Andrew Huxley, former Master, Trinity College, Cambridge, 78; Mr Robert Iliffe, chairman, Yattendon Investment Trust, 51; Mrs Billie Jean King, tennis champion, 52; Professor Sir John Kell, geologist, 61; Mr Wayne Larkins, cricketer, 42; Mr Peter McMaster, former Director General, the Ordnance Survey, 64; Mr Mushag Mohammed, cricketer, 52; Mr John Newman, trade unionist, 64; Sir John Owen, High Court judge, 70; Mr Robin Reeve, Head Master, King's College School, Wimbledon, 61; Mr Gunther Schödl, composer, 70; Mrs Pat Koehn-Smythe, show-jumper, 67; Mr Robert Vaughan, film and television actor, 63; Sir Michael Walker, former diplomat, 79.

Anniversaries

Births: Thomas Cook, travel agent, 1808; George Eliot, novelist, 1819; George Robert Gissing, novelist, 1857; Cecil James Sharp, founder of the English Folk Dance Society, 1859; Wassily Kandinsky, painter, 1866; André-Paul Guillaume Gide, author, 1869; General Charles-André Marie-Joseph de Gaulle, French president, 1890; Howard

Hogland ("Hoag") Carmichael, songwriter, 1899; Edward Benjamin Britten, composer, 1913. Death: Clive Staples Lewis, author, 1963; Alonzo Leonard Huxley, 1963; John Fitzgerald Kennedy, 35th US President, assassinated 1963; Anthony Burgess (John Anthony Burgess Wilson), writer and composer, 1933. On this day: Juan Carlos of Bourbon was sworn in as King of Spain, 1975; Margaret Thatcher resigned as Prime Minister, 1990. Today is the Feast Day of St Cecilia or Cecily and Saints Philomena and Apphia.

Luncheons

Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Mr Malcolm Rifkind QC MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, held a luncheon yesterday at 1 Carlton Gardens, London SW1, in honour of Sri Prakash Mukherjee, Minister for External Affairs of the Republic of India.

Receptions

Prime Minister: Mr John Major, was host at a reception yesterday evening at 10 Downing Street in honour of the National Asthma Campaign.

Dinners

High Court Journalists Association: The Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay of Clashfern, attended the annual dinner of the High Court Journalists Association held last night at the Law Society, London WC2. Sir Thomas Bingham, Master of the Rolls, Mr John Spencer, chairman of the association, Ms Maria Fleischmann, vice-chairman, and Mr Rodney Klean QC were the speakers.

ROYAL ENGAGEMENTS

The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh are an invited guest at the following events: The Duke of Edinburgh is to attend the opening ceremony of the 1996 Commonwealth Games at the Sydney Olympic Stadium, Sydney, Australia, on 21 September. The Duke of Edinburgh is to attend the opening ceremony of the 1996 Commonwealth Games at the Sydney Olympic Stadium, Sydney, Australia, on 21 September. The Duke of Edinburgh is to attend the opening ceremony of the 1996 Commonwealth Games at the Sydney Olympic Stadium, Sydney, Australia, on 21 September.

Changing of the Guard The Household Cavalry Mounted Regiment will march to the Queen's Life Guard at Horse Guards, Whitehall, London SW1, on 23 November 1996. The ceremony will be held at 11.00am, and will be broadcast on BBC 1.

Parole board's recall of prisoner was lawful

LAW REPORT

22 November 1996

Regina v Parole Board, ex parte Watson; Queen's Bench Division (Mr Justice Popplewell); 16 October 1995

The test to be applied by the parole board when considering whether to release a life prisoner on licence after recall was the same as the test that applied when it considered the prisoner's initial release, namely, whether it was satisfied it was no longer necessary for the protection of the public that the prisoner be confined.

Mr Justice Popplewell dismissed an application by David Watson for judicial review of the parole board's decision not to order his immediate release on licence. In 1975 the applicant was convicted of four offences of burglary and five offences of indecent assault on schoolboys and sentenced to life imprisonment and seven years concurrent. In 1993 he was released on licence. In 1994 his probation officer expressed concern about the applicant, who was associating with young men. The Home Secretary recommended the applicant's recall to prison and the parole board, without hearing representations from the applicant, confirmed that decision.

At a hearing before the board's discretionary life pan-

el, the parole board's confirmation was made known. The panel considered representations from the applicant. It took the view that the risk of his association with young men aged 17 with criminal convictions, drug addiction and no settled way of life leading to serious sexual offending was very high. It was not satisfied that it was no longer necessary for the protection of the public that the applicant be confined.

The applicant applied for judicial review of the decision on the grounds, among others, that the panel's procedure was irregular in that the fact that the parole board had earlier confirmed the recall was made known to the panel, and that the panel applied the wrong test in that when judging the appropriateness of recall under section 39 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991 the panel must consider whether the applicant's re-detention was positively justified and must not apply the test, under section 34 for cases for initial release, that the applicant's continued detention was no longer necessary.

His lordship was unpersuaded that the panel's decision was in any way affected by the fact that some previous body associated with the parole board had confirmed the applicant's recall. Having considered section 39(1) and (2), Parliament considered that a parole board's recommendation on recall was not a bar in any way to the subsequent hearing by a parole board of the merits. The panel which heard the full

& Co) for the applicant; Steven Kovats (Treasury Solicitor) for the Home Secretary.

Mr Justice Popplewell said that the statutory provisions were designed to give effect to the decision in *Thyne v United Kingdom* (1990) 13 EHRR 666, which was to the effect that it was no longer necessary for the protection of the public that the applicant be confined - was the correct test and that there was no good policy reason why the test should be different from that for initial release since in each case it was a question of whether a prisoner who had served the tariff period of his sentence should be confined.

The clear conclusion was that the test to be applied by the board was that which it had in fact applied, and the board had to come to a positive decision that the applicant presented a high risk of committing further offences had no validity.

There was ample material on which the board applying the test that it did could properly come to the conclusion that the recall was justified. The application was dismissed.

Ying Hui Tan, Barrister

Sara Emma Daly

Emma Daly

PEACE IN HIS TIME?

Pax Americana: Bosnia is its first success

We have got so used to conflicts that cannot be ended, that we have invented a special term to describe them: "peace process", which is never quite "peace". So any actual signed agreement to conclude a war is as unexpected as it is welcome. Any peace must be, which ends four years of war in a country of 4 million, a war that has killed people by the hundreds of thousands, forced them to flee by the multitudes and left a civil society in ruins.

It will not be a good peace. For many centuries it was taken for granted that peoples of different cultures, religions and languages could live together as neighbours in the Balkans. For 40 years after the Second World War, in what will seem to the inhabitants of this ravaged region the golden age of Tito, a non-ethnic Yugoslav state, uncommitted to any of its many communities, even succeeded in reconciling the survivors of the mutual massacres of 1941-45. The Bosnian peace will, for the first time, turn the region into a patchwork of ghettos each "belonging" to some community aspiring to ethnic purity and/or religious exclusiveness. But it will be better than war.

Whatever we feel about it, one thing is clear. It will be a triumph for the US government which, virtually single-handed, took over the task of peace-making, and in the end virtually imprisoned the Balkan negotiators, equally far from their home base, the United Nations.

And from the Europeans, for weeks in the depths of middle America, until they signed. The triumph is all the more brilliant because it was achieved not only over the various ex-Yugoslavs and the Europeans but also in spite of the music-hall antics of American politics – the neo-isolationist rhetoric about arming the Bosnians, the congressional refusal to send US soldiers and the rest of it.

At the same time the peace underlines the total failure of the states of Europe, singly or collectively through the European Union. From the moment when Germany, for reasons which are still incomprehensible, but can only have been frivolous or irrelevant, insisted on recognising the independence of Slovenia and Croatia – and consequently also of Bosnia – the story has been one of unbroken disaster. The Europeans fell in line, for equally irrelevant and, in Major's case, frivolous reasons, although they were against the decision and knew what the consequences would be. Bosnia was "recognised" but few countries opened embassies in Sarajevo.

Faced with the first major war in mid-Europe since 1945, the European Union demonstrated its complete incapacity to agree on any common policy, let alone on effective backing for its diplomats and on the ground. Each of its operational members had a separate national take on the situation. They, or rather their military advisers, only agreed on one thing – to stay out of the war. In fact, they took cover under the convenient blue umbrella of the UN. The European failure was, and remains, total. They have now been so completely bypassed by the US that Washington has discredited a former Dutch prime minister as secretary-general of Nato on the grounds that he can't be guaranteed to follow the US line on Bosnia automatically.

One can't say that the UN failed, since the UN's capacity for positive action depends entirely on the decisions of the Security Council, and on resources made available by member states, that is to say in both respects on the US. The UN has done the only job it was

allowed to do, watching and humanitarian relief. It is not in the business of peace-making, and there was no peace to keep. Still, it did not cover itself with glory and some of the troops given blue berets by member states behaved scandalously. But this reflects less on the UN than on the quality of armies to the states concerned.

The US finally took over the job of peace-making, not because it has any special interest in the Balkans – except for the Greeks, the region's inhabitants don't yet count in American politics – but because it is today the only great world power, and consequently the only power with a global policy, rather as Britain was in the 19th century. Nobody else has more than regional policies. What exactly that policy should be in the post-Soviet era has not been clear. The Yugoslav settlement is the first systematic attempt to work it out.

What does the only great power in the world do? It cannot look for a way to be a world dominator, which would be beyond its power, even if US politicians accepted that professional soldiers should sometimes be ready to be killed

as well as kill. It must try to be a world decider, using its position as the largest single economy in the world and the largest owner of hi-tech military hardware. In short, there is nobody else who has America's high capacity to bribe or subsidise and to threaten and blackmail, especially relatively small or weak states.

This situation only works where there are states. No amount of Washington arm-twisting can end the carnage in Somalia or Afghanistan by the methods of Dayton, Ohio. The US has a substantial interest in maintaining some kind of stable post-Soviet state system. That is why, without publicity – what would Gingrich do if he knew? – it has actually maintained some troops in the Balkans for years, namely in Macedonia, as a warning to local powers in that explosive region. The Bosnian peace is the first successful experiment in maintaining the *pax Americana* in the world today.

It is based on ruthless realism. Essentially the peace was made by scaring the Serbs (economic blackmail) and strengthening the Croats, without whose US-backed and trained military advances the Bosnian Serbs would not have given in. In spite of the rhetoric about arming the Bosnians, they will get least out of the settlement. They will be an appendix to the "Croat-Muslim" federation, guaranteed at most against further genocide and ethnic expulsion and the formal survival of the Bosnian state frontiers. In most other respects the division of Bosnia between Croatia and Serbia, which Milosevic and Tudjman planned, will be realised.

It will not be a good peace. It will strengthen the Islamist tendencies of the Bosnian Muslims, and enormously reinforce the role of the ultra-nationalist Tudjman, whose regime is actually worse than Milosevic's. Zagreb will now regard itself – one hopes wrongly – as Washington's Balkan answer to Moscow. The refugee masses will return to their homes only in symbolic dribbles. Most of the educated professional classes of the United States prefer to live abroad, if they can. But it will be peace after almost four years of war.

Will it be a lasting peace? Will it guarantee peace in south-eastern Europe? Better not even to ask these questions. This is not the day for sceptical answers.

Eric Hobsbawm is the author of *The Age of Extremes*, published by Michael Joseph at £20.



Wary of war: a Bosnian government soldier waits nervously beside a ruined building

Photograph: Reuters

The show that Europe missed

They were so like us, both the killers and the victims, good Europeans one and all. There was no saving distance of race or culture to spare us the pain of identification and the sting of shame. The widows of Srebrenica could have been our mothers or grandmothers. The killers were like us, too: professors of Shakespeare, practising psychoanalysis, liars adept at telling us what we wanted to hear. This was "our" war in an especially intimate and uncomfortable way. No one who was there will ever believe in Europe again.

We could have stopped it. Radovan Karadzic admits as much. The dispatch of 20,000 Nato troops to guarantee the integrity of Bosnia would have stopped the Serb succession, if they had been sent in January 1992.

The obstacle, so our leaders told us, was ourselves. We would never accept the body bags. But real leaders create their own support – and support was there for the making. By early 1992, the European public had seen what Serbian artillery could do to European cities such as Vukovar and Dubrovnik. It didn't require Churchillian powers of rhetoric to persuade the British public that some lives might well be spent defending the integrity of a European state; that, however complex these identifications might be, these were "our" people and had a claim on our protection. There was a public waiting to be mobilised in defence of Europe itself, and that public waited in vain for its call.

It is wrong to suppose that the British are so anti-European that they could never have been mobilised in such a cause. The only European leader who seemed to grasp that Europe itself was at stake in Bosnia was the staunchest anti-European of them all, Margaret Thatcher. She could see that if Europe had any pretensions to rival the power of the Americans and the Japanese, it had to prove that it could stop the Serbs.

Some will argue that the failure in Yugoslavia makes the case even stronger for a united Europe, but it is hard to see why anyone should believe in this united

Europe, if its already formidable institutions proved unable to stop ethnic cleansing two hours from Brussels.

So the peace that is being dictated has not been initiated in Geneva, where it ought to have been, but at an American air base in Ohio. This is so much an American show that they do not even make a pretence of keeping European capitals informed. Europe remains as beholden to American power as it was in 1941, when Churchill called on the New World to redress the balance of the Old. Bosnia offered Europe the chance of a generation to end its 50-year dependence on the Americans. The best chance Europe had since 1945 to stand on its own two

feet has been thrown away. We may suppose that, while it is a bit shameful for the Americans to do our work for us, no costs to us attach to their success. But a special price attaches to any peace dictated by the Americans: the ratification of Croatian ethnic cleansing.

The Serbs have been brought to the table because the Americans have lied up on the Croatian side. Seeing that the Serbs could not count on Russia for belated support, the Americans decided that there were no substantial costs, from their point of view, in aligning with Tudjman's camp. In early 1994, they brokered the federation between the Croats and Muslims; and in the summer of 1995, gave the Croats permission to drive the Serbs from Krajina. The Americans have concluded that Tudjman may be a bastard, but he is their bastard.

It was this American support, coupled with the Croatian gains in central Bosnia, that finally broke Serb intransigence. But the costs will be high: an

ethnic partition of Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia seems inevitable. The treaty language about preserving a unified, federal Bosnia is designed to save, not the Bosnians' fate, but our own. In reality, a perfectly viable multi-ethnic state in southern Europe has been carved in two and served up to two aggressors.

If you reflect on the meaning of this defining moment at Dayton, it is clear that Europe took nearly 40 years to recover its belief in itself after the Holocaust. The clan behind European integration in the Seventies and early Eighties was built on this happy amnesia. The Balkan wars of 1991-95, by returning the concentration camp to Europe, have shattered once again that fiction which led us to equate the word European with civilised.

Many to the Third World will say that is no bad thing. It was better that we woke from our narcissistic slumbers. But there are some ideas that originated in Europe, and nowhere else – human rights, international humanitarian law

and the law of war – which we have reason to think deserve the status of moral universals. What made the Balkan wars so shocking – beyond our failure to intervene – was how little these universals were respected in their home continent.

Civilised warfare is not a contradiction in terms – the idea of civilising warfare has been at the heart of the European natural law tradition since Grotius. But European ethnic cleansers probably violated the laws of war more systematically than any Afghan guerrilla fighter or Somali gunman. Rape as an instrument of war, the bombardment of civilians, the starvation of prisoners: the Balkan war has left the European human rights tradition in tatters.

The memory of atrocity will poison the wells of trust in the Balkans for generations. Just as the Balkan wars of 1991-95 were the culmination of the Chetnik-Ustashe-Partisan wars of 1941-45, so one must imagine a future in which the sons and grandsons of today's fighters set out to avenge their fathers. This is the fatal chain that must be broken if any peace is to endure.

Any paper peace will not break that chain only truth about the past will. This is why international war-crimes tribunals are essential. Even if the guilty parties escape punishment, war-crimes tribunals are not an empty exercise. They attribute guilt to individuals and not to ethnic groups, and replace atrocity myth with fact and evidence. The Balkans need truth as much as they need roads, bridges, new schools and peace-keepers. The tribunals must sit, for a long time if need be, so that eventually there can be the elements from which a common, shared truth about the past can be created. It is utopian, given the hatreds on all sides, still to believe in the power of truth, but without shared historical truth the ordinary peoples of the Balkans will never build the enduring peace they so desperately need.

Michael Ignatieff is the author of *Blood and Belonging*, published by BBC/Chatto at £16.99.

Sarajevo Diary

EMMA DALY

Le tout Sarajevo (apart from the government, which appears to have moved in its entirety to Dayton, Ohio) has spent the past two days at the city's Austro-Hungarian National Theatre enjoying the delights of a festival set up by Neue Slovenische Kunst (New Slovenian Arts). Punters queued up to have their photos taken for "passports" issued by NSK and admire the bizarre Lailbach posters, which feature an unsettling amount of Nazi iconography.

The high point was a concert by Lailbach, whose darkly Gothic cover of the fluffy Euro-pop hit "Life is Life" won wild applause but little actual dancing – even before the war, Sarajevo was notorious among bands for the passivity, with which audiences sat through gigs, according to a friend who is, among other things, lead singer of a well-known local group.

The theatre's massive chandelier swayed gently above the crowds, the gilt and red velvet somewhat at odds with the long, narrow stage banners (Third Reich-style) bearing the logo of the Atlantic Alliance (a recent album was entitled *Nato*) and the woodcuts of war scenes projected on to the backdrop.

It was an appropriate mix of the machismo and surrealism beloved of

Balkan artists and a rare opportunity for Sarajevo's young to forget the war, although with peace talks under way in Dayton, some saw the concert as a fortuitous omen. "I think tonight might be the end of the war," said Adis Congic, a young man forced to flee the Serb-held district of Grbavica in 1992 – sans Lailbach albums. "Lailbach is a good sign. I feel great." The mood of optimism in the theatre was fuelled by clouds of hashish smoke and the fact that here, at least, was an escape from the bitter cold.

I had not seen my friend for more than a year until we met at the concert; the last time we spoke he was on the verge of a nervous breakdown and going into hiding for a while. After three years in the trenches, eating beans, he was close to collapse, unable to work at his sculpture but loath to leave Sarajevo. "Do you remember taking me to dinner at the Holiday Inn? It was the first time I had seen meat for two years and I just couldn't believe my eyes," he said with a grin. Since then he has put on weight and is filled with optimism, convinced that the war is about to end. But nothing changes overnight here – today he is heading back to the front

line for a month of what he expects (and hopes) will be utter tedium in the freezing cold.

Winter has roared in with a vengeance, blanketing the city in a foot of snow that hides the worst of the war damage and transforms the landscape into the comforting visage of a cosy Alpine town – that is, until the gas pressure drops and people retreat into a single room that can be heated more easily. The old tradition of pickling vegetables for winter is in full flow among those who can afford to buy supplies or who have managed to grow cabbages in the dozens of allotments filling verges across the city.

In Heroes' Square, a grim district on the front line, a few straggly cabbages lurch under the weight of the snow in the courtyard of bombed-out tower blocks. Minka, who lives here with her husband and two daughters, has bought and pickled 50kg of cabbages to last the family for the next two months. "This plot was divided among 30 or 40 families, so we only get a tiny piece of land. It's hardly worth growing vegetables here for food – it's more of a hobby," she said.

"This is very good for hangovers," she

said, handing over a glass of noxious pickling juice, a grim combination of water, salt and cabbage. In a small cupboard she is growing mushrooms in two large nests of dried grass; last winter she netted 9kg. Before the war, she would pickle anything: peppers, cucumbers, carrots, tomatoes – she reels off the list in wistful tones – but now cabbage is all she can afford. Still, it's a vast improvement on the past three winters, when she had no vegetables at all.

Surprising as it may seem, it is more often entertaining than depressing to visit Sarajevans, despite the grim conditions in which they live: the city seems to exist on

a diet of black humour. A friend travelling to Sarajevo by bus said her fellow passengers, terrified by the prospect of crossing Serb territory, even with a UN escort, grilled a Bosnian soldier checking their papers about the danger. "Do the Serbs ever stop the bus and take people away?" one asked anxiously. "Oh yes," he replied. "But they usually only take a few, so I'm sure you'll be OK." The bus waited nervously for the peace-keeping escort to arrive. "Of course they'll be on time – just like they were for Srebrenica," cried another traveller.

The city is braced for another showdown with the peace-keepers: an



Share and share alike: winter in Sarajevo

Laszlo Balogh/Reuters

Anglo-French team is training hard for a battle next week with Zenica, the most successful rugby club in the former Yugoslavia (national champions 14 times, winners of nine national cups). The money in Sarajevo is on the Bosnian team, although the UN Protection Force (Unprofor) will field several players from the British and French combined services teams for the game at Zetra's Olympic stadium.

"Our main aim is not to win, but to come to Sarajevo and find peace," Enes Begicovic, spokesman of the Zenica club, said. "Rugby is a universal language, and during this war the only teams we have played have come from Unprofor." The record so far stands at Britbat 3, Zenica 2 (Britbat being the British battalion based near Zenica). The last away victory, however, required a little help. Mr Begicovic said. "The British fielded some cuckoos in the nest – we found out they had some New Zealanders playing."

Bosnian rugby has its genesis in locals who studied abroad then came home with the rugby bug, and now exports a few players (Muris Uzunovic plays for Harrow), but even with videotapes of the Rugby World Cup and the England-South Africa game, the team is starved of men and equipment. "We lost 15 players in this war: some in the army, some as civilians," Mr Begicovic said. "At the moment the full team has only one strip, which was donated by Britbat. We would like to ask British clubs if they could send us some equipment, especially uniforms and shoes for kids."

INDEPENDENT

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Cold comfort in Bosnia's peace

President Bill Clinton finally got his Bosnia peace agreement yesterday after a marathon bout of negotiating that stretched America's arts of persuasion and power to their utmost. Mr Clinton was right to talk of "a historic and heroic choice" by the leaders of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia. They had, he said, heeded the will of their people to stop the slaughter, to give their children and grandchildren the chance to lead a normal life.

As the first snowflakes of a bitter winter fall on the Balkans, it may just be that its inhabitants are witnessing the end of four years of conflict. It is a war that has shamed Europe. From 1991 to the present day, the scourges of mass murder, ethnic persecution and benighted nationalism stalked the south-east corner of our continent. And Europe, for all its councils and commissions, its parliament and institutions, failed either to prevent it or stop it.

That is the most pertinent lesson of the collapse of Yugoslavia. It took Mr Clinton's belated commitment to compel all three warring groups to come to the negotiating table. It took American air power, exercised through Nato, to bomb the Bosnian Serbs into submission after their heinous offensive against the "safe area" of Srebrenica. It took American ground forces to enforce the peace, bolstered mainly by soldiers from Britain and France.

Yet again, as in 1917 and 1941, a conflict between Europeans has been decisively altered only by the intervention of the United States. Winston Churchill once memorably used a phrase about the New World coming forth to the rescue of the Old. But this is a rescue operation performed with little enthusiasm by the rescuer and scant gratitude by those to be

saved. The President faces a tough contest with Congress, which is understandably dubious about sending American boys to Bosnia. Awaiting them on the hushed battlefield are well-armed factions who will be quick to seize advantage and who must be ruthlessly and impartially repressed. Rough and trying months could lie ahead.

There can be little moral satisfaction in this agreement for those who supported the Bosnian government's cause. The deal creates a Bosnian state divided between a Muslim-Croat Federation and the so-called Serb Republic, a worse fate than the provisions of the much-decried Vance-Owen plan which fell apart two years ago. In American policy, sermonising has yielded to *realpolitik*.

None the less, peace is better than war, even peace at a price that many of the diehards in the Sarajevo government find difficult to accept. Bosnia will have a central government, elections, an agreed constitution, a central bank and a presidency. In deference to public outrage, all three sides agree—at least on paper—that refugees can return to their homes and that men indicted for war crimes cannot hold office.

The balance sheet is still grim. Yesterday's agreement was the fruit not of reason, but of conquest. It was made possible by Croatia's defeat of the Krajina Serbs last August, by Bosnian gains in the subsequent campaign, and, perversely, by the brutal Serb assault on the "safe areas" that finally discredited the United Nations and brought the Americans into the fray. Both the United States and Europe need to grasp that reality if yesterday's "peace" is to be made permanent.

There is life after royal marriage

Charles and Diana have both now had their say in public. We have listened to, watched and sympathised with their marital difficulties. And, to be honest, their story has been both fascinating and saddening, as other people's problems often are. But now they must draw a line under their public warfare. There is a marriage that has broken down irretrievably. They should divorce.

The Princess of Wales's interview for *Panorama* made clear that their relationship felt apart a long time ago. Infidelity, counsellors know, is usually enough to destroy a marriage for ever. But the royal couple went further, conspiring in their broadcasts and, privately, through their friends, to undermine one another.

In her interview, the Princess said that she did not want a divorce, citing the risks posed to her two children. She is probably also worried about her own status. But her underlying message seemed to be that, though she did not wish to be held responsible for the final breach, she would accept it, provided she was properly looked after. The Princess of Wales does not expect to be Queen. Nor did she raise the possibility of a reconciliation. Logically, nearly three years after separation, divorce should be the next step.

The delay in settling this matter seems to be caused partly by a sensitivity to public opinion. But now that we have all been made privy to the inner secrets of their relationship, the Prince and Princess can forget these scruples.

The other problem is the role that each would perform after a final split. The Princess wants to continue as a public figure, working as an ambassador for Britain. She should be encouraged to play this part. Buckingham Palace must accept, more gracefully than in the past, that the Princess will probably always be more popular than her former husband.

The other issue is the succession. There is no good reason why divorce should stop Prince Charles becoming King. He has his faults, but there is every sign that, after a lifetime of grooming, he will be a competent head of state, certainly better than anyone else eligible to replace the Queen. The suggestion that Prince William should take over instead is ridiculous. Even if he were a young adult, the young prince would be too immature.

If Prince Charles chooses to remarry, the constitutional impediments could be set aside. The Church of England, which has managed to accommodate women priests and the remarriage of divorced clergy, could alter its rules to allow a second marriage for its Supreme Governor and Defender of the Faith. The way would be open for Charles to be King, even if he had remarried.

Amid the trauma of broken relationships, it is often hard to see how warring couples can get out of the terrible mess. But the Prince and Princess of Wales have a rosy future apart. They, and their children, might even be happier. There is life after marriage, even a royal one.

ANOTHER VIEW Nirj Deva

Fair and firm on immigration

The proposed Asylum and Immigration Bill now before the Commons will be one of the most contentious to come before the House. The Labour Party, recognising that many of its supporters are in favour of the Bill, attempted without success to have it go to a Special Committee of the Commons, thereby obviating the need to vote against it.

Applications to the UK in relation to other EU countries have risen sharply over the past few years and unless something is done now it is projected that this country will be receiving applications at the rate of about 100,000 by the end of the century. Astonishingly, last year only 4 per cent were genuine applicants. At the same time, applications to other Western European countries have declined sharply. As a consequence of our EU colleagues tightening up the rules on asylum, applicants from safe third countries such as Germany and France apply to the UK because of its less rigorous rules and lengthy, bureaucratic assessment procedures.

This Bill will seek to manage this upsurge in applications more efficiently whilst continuing to ensure that genuine asylum-seekers are given a safe haven (and Britain has a proud historical record in that respect, which will continue).

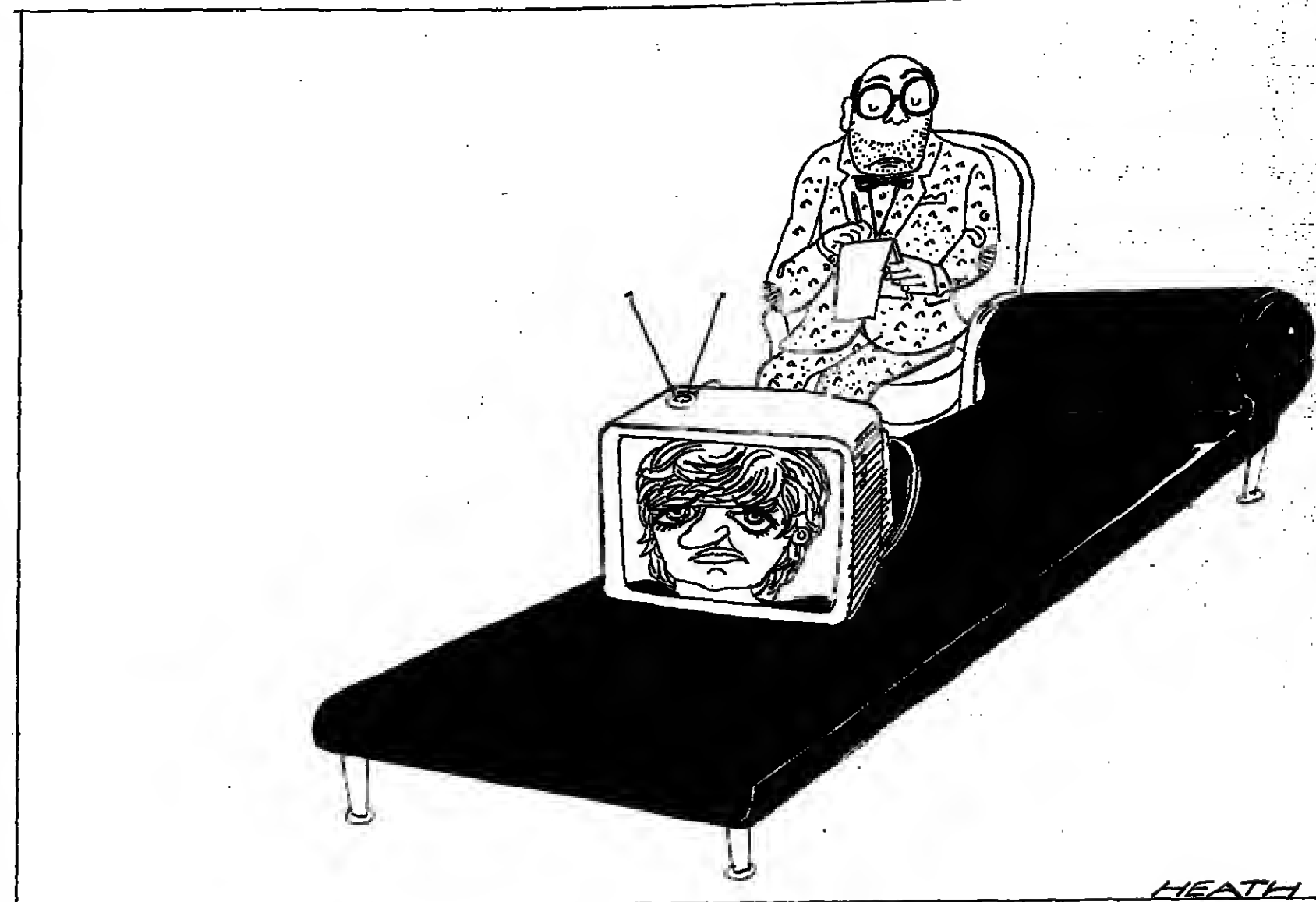
Currently, asylum seekers awaiting acceptance by the Government benefit from our excellent welfare system: £100 per week in benefit, local council accommodation and, of course, free NHS treatment. The result is that those in greatest

need in our country, including many members of the ethnic minorities, the elderly, single parents and the homeless, are penalised the most.

The Labour Party has attempted to play the "race card" and failed. The Bill is not about race; it's about efficiency. Currently more than £200m is spent in checking the accuracy of the applicants' information and in welfare. Most applicants arrive from the troubled countries of Eastern Europe, Romania, Russia, Poland and Yugoslavia. I trust this will prevent anyone from assuming that this is a race issue. It is not. It is a question of ensuring that only those who are genuine refugees are given a safe haven and that Britain is not a honey pot for those who apply principally for economic reasons.

The Bill will be good for community relations. It is good for the ethnic minorities—particularly those from the Asian subcontinent, now in their second generation and happily settled in the UK. They are seen as an integral part of this country. If the Bill fails and bogus asylum-seekers are able to be in this country, a time will come when everyone without strictly European features will be viewed as such. The destabilisation and insecurity for those legally settled here would have far-reaching consequences for all. Good race relations can only be engendered by fair and firm immigration policies.

The writer is Conservative MP for Brentford and Isleworth.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

'Great communicator' fights for sanity and has the Royal Household on toast

From Mr Jan May

Sir: One of the most powerful tactics used in negotiating is "nuisance value". The confident performance and candid responses of the Princess of Wales in her *Panorama* interview must rank among the most delightfully subtle, yet devastatingly effective, uses of veiled threats ever witnessed in public.

Most people would run from a marriage that had so seriously deteriorated. Most people would not disclose their infidelities to their friends, let alone their children. Most marriage break-ups are conducted in private, protecting the children and trying to ensure that they do not have to take sides. Yet this marriage breakdown, at the heart of a family that has operated behind closed doors for centuries, is taking place in an unprecedented glare of publicity. Not even publicity-hungry film stars indulge in such tactics—and tactics is what this extraordinary interview was all about.

This is a fight for sanity through self-esteem. The Princess is looking after her own future: she is telling the Palace what she wants, which I would guess she has been refused, and demonstrating what she can do if she doesn't get it.

She makes it clear that her low self-esteem has been overcome by realising her unique talent. She puts the "great communicator", Ronald Reagan, in the shade. Even Richard Branson must bow to the goddess of publicity. The Princess has found her forte, enjoys it, and wants to use it. How pleasing it must be to think you are worthless and then find out that you are the best in

the world—bar none—and how that upsets those who once derided you.

She made it clear that she knows she has a skill and wants to use it. If any deal offered by the Palace includes stifling this one brilliant talent, what does she have left? The Palace would succeed in returning her to her admitted vulnerable state of mind—and she certainly does not want that.

Diana says she does not want a divorce because of the children, yet she cannot believe that it is better for the children to know that their parents are married and having affairs. She casts doubt on Charles's ability to be the next King, yet sidesteps the question of her eldest son being crowned instead of Charles. She reminds the palace of the embarrassment of a coronation involving a mistress and a wife, and that as a future King's mother she has influence. Powerful stuff.

We saw an angry woman, demonstrating to those who need to know what power she has and that they had better listen to what she wants, or else. And what she wants is to be a unique subsidiary to the royal firm: the title, the status and the income to be an independent operator, but still part of the royal conglomerate. She wants the back-up and endorsement of the Palace in order to continue to be a megastar and show the world that she is not the thick breeder of future kings. Divorce or not, they have to strike a deal that suits Diana—she's got them on toast.

Yours faithfully,
JAN MAY
Balcombe, West Sussex
21 November

From Mr Geoffrey Lawson

Sir: The Princess of Wales's *Panorama* interview revealed much by what she rather carefully didn't say. In particular, the extent to which the advisers to the Royal Household are affected by certain petty jealousies, are locked in the past, brown on novelty and seek control.

Here we have a perfectly sane young woman with a great deal to offer trying to modernise and humanise the institution of the monarchy and evidently driven into enmity with the Household. There is a whiff of Henry II's "who will rid me of this turbulent priest" about the efforts to discredit and marginalise the Princess with suggestions of her mental instability emanating from various "advisers" and people allegedly "in the know".

I support the Princess and the devil take the other lobby. Diana may not have a university education but this is not a prerequisite for wisdom and shrewdness and much else in this life.

I found more intellectual stimulation and thoughtfulness in the Princess's interview than in the ramblings of her husband with Mr Dimbleby a year ago, wherein lay a singular lack of wisdom.

Yours sincerely,
GEOFFREY LAWSON
London, SW17
21 November

From Mr Sean Dell

Sir: Nicholas Soames MP, "close friend of Prince Charles", speaking on television last night, and on Radio 4 this morning, was clear proof of Diana's point that Prince Charles's friends had systematically portrayed her as mad and unstable. He as much as

admitted it. Yet you felt, not for the first time, that the upper classes were the ones who had finally lost touch with the reality of modern Britain.

Manipulative she may be, obsessive probably, vengeful most certainly, but Diana showed in her interview that she is also far more sanely aware of what ordinary people think and feel than Nicholas Soames and the other courtiers with whom Prince Charles surrounds himself and from whom, presumably, he takes advice.

Yours faithfully,
SEAN DELL
London, W2
21 November

From Mr G. T. Brown

Sir: I thought your analysis of the Charles/Di situation brilliant but I do not think you give Charles enough credit regarding the common touch. I know personally how much help he has given to very humble, ordinary people to get started in business, and written to them using their Christian names, with real friendship, not PR.

The best thing that can happen to the monarchy as an institution is for Charles and Di to get back together, whatever the personal sacrifice.

Yours faithfully,
G. T. BROWN
Kingston upon Thames
Surrey

From Miss Jo Dunn

Sir: Appropos current discussions on the rights and wrongs of intruding into the private and public lives of British citizens, it is worth reflecting on the opinion of that great Englishman William

Cobbett (1763-1835), who said: No man has a right to pry into his neighbour's private concerns... but... when he once comes forward as a candidate for public admiration, esteem, or compassion, his opinions, his principles, his motives, every action of his life, public or private, become the fair subject of public discussion.

Yours faithfully,
JO DUNN
Charlbury, Oxfordshire
20 November

From Dr Paul Cornish

Sir: There could be a neat solution to the difficulties currently facing the Royal Family: a solution that could have far-reaching implications for international security.

With her interest in the diplomatic life, her concern about being misperceived as a threat, her need to have a worthwhile job and her wish to be warm and affectionate while remaining strong and effective, has HRH the Princess of Wales considered the currently vacant post of Secretary General at Nato?

Yours faithfully,
PAUL CORNISH
Cambridge
21 November

From Mr M. Robertson

Sir: Since the juxtaposition of two prime-time television programmes on Monday night—*Panorama* and *Cracker*, wouldn't the public have been better served by an interview of the Princess of Wales by "Fitz"? Yours faithfully,
M. ROBERTSON
Nailsworth,
Gloucestershire
21 November

Why Labour's tax plans are a fair deal

From Mr Andrew Smith, MP

Sir: The Institute for Fiscal Studies argues that Labour's long-term ambition to cut the starting rate of income tax to 10p in the pound is not the most progressive way to cut income tax ("Brown's 10p tax scheme attacked", 21 November). But the institute's analysis does not support its conclusions.

Its figures, in fact, confirm that cutting the starting rate of tax is fairer than cutting the basic rate of tax. But they also show that a lower starting rate is fairer than simply raising allowances, unless higher allowances are combined with "other adjustments" to ensure richer individuals do not gain more than poorer individuals. Even then, the distributional differences between a lower starting rate and higher allowances, with the IFS adjustment, are barely perceptible—and much more progressive than a cut in the basic rate.

But Labour's proposals are even fairer because they logically combine a cut in the starting rate of tax with an equivalent cut in benefit taxes. Cutting taxers alone would simply pull many more people into means-tested benefits and do nothing to help the many low-paid people not on benefit who still see a higher proportion of their earnings taken in tax than 16 years ago.

The IFS ends its analysis by arguing that cutting the starting rate of tax does not help the unemployed and low-paid workers because very few such people are 20p taxpayers. But surely the IFS is now describing the very problem Labour wants to address—the fact that so many families are trapped out of work by the tax and benefits systems.

It is coping with this problem that Labour's welfare-to-work strategy is designed to tackle. In today's dynamic labour market, people not only enter work on low-wage, and often part-time, employment, but they are also changing jobs all the time and we must help them move up the wage ladder. That is why we want to see, along with other reforms, a lower starting rate of tax to help people off welfare and up the wage ladder.

The IFS tax-benefit modelling can only describe how the world is today, not how it could be if the reforms to employment, social security and tax policy that Labour proposes are enacted.

Yours sincerely,
ANDREW SMITH
MP for Oxford East (Lab)
House of Commons
London, SW1
22 November

The writer is Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury.

Picnic in the dunes

From Mr Kenneth Riley

Sir: I for one feel insulted by the remark about troops panicking on the beach at Dunkirk, in Robert Windler's article about Enid Blyton ("Noddy's off to Treasure Island", 18 November). I was on that beach for several days and was one of the last to be evacuated. I saw no sign of panic, having traversed the beach from Bray Dunes to Dunkirk itself. We picnicked in the sand dunes, but we did not panic.

Yours faithfully,
KENNETH RILEY
London, E7

MEP employers

From Mr Neil Ash

Sir: Carole Tongue MEP is right to criticise major UK employers in being negative about European employment reform, including maternity leave, (letter, 20 November). However, one can add that the employment practices of some MEPs themselves sometimes leave much to be desired even to meet the lower standards of British employment law.

That is why there is a need to give all assistants to MEPs proper

contracts, sick pay, maternity and paternity leave, and other terms. Sadly, problems do occur in every political party. Only "loyalty to the party" prevents matters reaching the public domain frequently.

I hope that Carole and other sponsored MEPs will give full support to the plea for common and fair conditions of employment for political assistants.

Yours sincerely,
NEIL ASH
Brussels
20 November

No peace yet in Northern Ireland

From Mr Gary Kent

Sir: Jack O'Sullivan's useful article ("Will they ever get round that table?", 17 November) unfortunately omits a central issue that corrodes community confidence in the bona fides of the paramilitary organisations and their political wings: continuing violence in the province.

Since the ceasefire, there have been four terrorist murders and nearly 240 beatings. This represents a considerable increase on pre-ceasefire times and is a potential bridge between the full-scale killing of the past and a possible reversion in the future. The debate on the longer-term disposal of illegal weapons has obscured this present reality.

Groups such as Families Against Intimidation and Terror deserve a wider hearing for their proposals to force loyalist and republican groups to respect human rights and to allow the victims of widespread intimidation a voice in the peace process.

Yours sincerely,
GARY KENT
London, SE17

National treasure

From Mr Robert Banks

Sir: Is it a sign of the times that the National Trust, having recently declined the opportunity to acquire

the home of Charles Darwin, has just announced that it is to purchase that of Paul McCartney? Yours sincerely,
ROBERT BANKS
Durham

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0171 201 550

Elementary, my
dear Highness

When a princess doesn't live happily ever after ...

...the monarchy must quit its infantile fairyland

They've both got diarrhoea

but only one of them
will die from it

Approved by: _____
Date: _____

Generation Why

by Tony Reeve and Steve Way



ACTIONAID

REPORT OF THE

Boardroom battle leaves Cable wide open to bid

COMMENT

The chief executive's public act of mutiny, however justified, could never have resulted in anything other than court martial and a frog-march to the gallows.

As so often happens in a bare knuckles fight, there have been no victors in the dramatic boardroom tussle between the chairman and chief executive at Cable & Wireless; both were last night unceremoniously fired, presumably with the usual telephone number figures in compensation. Meanwhile, the company is left wide open to the long-rumoured hostile takeover bid.

It is, however, hard to see how Win Bischoff, deputy chairman and head of the group of non-executive directors that decided Lord Young's fate, could have done anything else. Lord Young's reputation has been so thoroughly demolished by the war of words mounted by James Ross and friends over the past couple of weeks that he could not have remained as a credible chairman. By the same count, the chief executive's public act of mutiny, however justified, could never have resulted in anything other than court martial and a frog-march to the gallows.

The old problem of what to do once you have thrown the captain overboard – in this case with the first mate – remains the same, however. Bringing back Dr Brian Smith, a former director of C & W, as non-executive chairman, is hardly a solution. Nor is the company's urgent search for a new chief executive. With the vultures gathering overhead, finding a convincing strategy for this oddball collection of telecommunications interests remains as problematic as ever. As befits a company with Mr Bischoff, chairman

of Schroders, as its deputy chairman, a plan of action to repel hostile boarders has already been drawn up. However, with the alternative strategies of Lord Young and Mr Ross by implication thrown to the winds and no chief executive at the helm, the company is plainly left pretty much defenceless.

Hedge your bets in the stock market

The single most important force behind the surge in share prices to a new all-time record – the fall in long-term interest rates – looks set to continue, as signs of weakness in the British and European economies multiply. The only question about the next interest rate move by the Bank of England is not its direction – down – but just how early it will be made. For shares, however, the next movement is a lot harder to call.

Until Kenneth Clarke sits down next Tuesday, the shape of the Budget will remain a wild card. Yet the City has already discounted some fiscal laxness. If anything, the Budget could surprise the markets by being tougher on spending and by not giving away as much in taxes as expected.

The economic case for some fiscal relaxation, to relieve the pressure for consumers, seems to mount by the day. Manufacturing stocks showed the biggest increase for 21 years. This mountain of inventories, combined with the rise in the trade gap, seems

likely to depress economic activity in the months ahead, prompting further rate cuts.

It is not just falling gilt yields that are driving the equity market. A company sector flush with cash is feeding a takeover boom. So far, this has mainly been in electricity, banking and pharmaceuticals, but bulls hope the frenzy will spread. Buy while stocks last, and get your takeovers through before a Labour government slams the door. That highlights the lurking political risk of an election in which the Tories will be shot down in flames. Historically, Labour governments have not been the grim reaper of market lore for share prices but investors and traders tend to take a different view, at least in the early stages.

Political uncertainty will in any case tend to drive up gilt yields, so dragging down share prices, as worries about higher inflation come to the fore, no matter what promises Tony Blair makes about keeping to the straight and narrow.

Another cloud on the horizon is the prospect of a sustained fall on Wall Street, which has risen by almost a third this year. There has been one shock in recent weeks, when high tech stocks fell off a cliff, only to find a convenient ledge just below. Although the FTSE 100 share index hasn't risen by anything as much as the Dow Jones, it remains as sensitive as ever to the tremors of Wall Street.

Until the Budget, bets should be hedged. A repeat of Norman Lamont's ACT play,

which reduced the tax privileges of pension funds, would knock share prices for six. But provided the Chancellor doesn't push his luck too far, the stock market probably has some steam left yet before it is beaten back by the gathering political headwinds.

Camelot shareholders picked a winner

The argument about the size of Camelot's Lottery profits is a dialogue of the deaf. One side says a £23.6m attributable profit is obscene and ought to be cut back or given to charity; the company points out that it represents just 0.9 per cent return on sales.

Moreover, Camelot says the licence agreement will keep the average at under 1 per cent over the entire seven-year period, which is hardly a licence to print money. The company will make more than most people expected, but mainly because sales are likely to be at or above the top end of predictions. There are no easy British profit comparisons for Camelot or its political critics to use to establish their cases either way.

The Lottery profits do not look greedy compared with the pools, probably the nearest corporate animal. Supermarket margins are higher than Camelot's, but they are far more complex than a Lottery with two products. In some ways, the business resembles an old-fashioned savings bank that takes in money but does not lend it, except

to the Government – which in Camelot's case passes the bulk on to charity. A return of 1 per cent on money raked in would indeed be generous for a savings bank, but Camelot does not fit the bill there, either. It has had to face potentially expensive risks, including penalties for late start-up – which were not invoked – and has lodged what amounts to a £40m performance bond with the Government.

The return on capital is nevertheless substantial, however you measure it. Investors put in £50m equity and £10m pre-bid costs last year but have already received their first dividend of £9.5m at the interim stage and retained profits are a further £14.1m. As venture capital projects go, this has proved one of the best performers around.

But the really big venture capital payback, through a flotation, does not look feasible for political reasons. By the time the company has a three-year track record to satisfy the Stock Exchange it is more likely to be facing a Labour government which – judging by its front benchers' remarks about lottery profits – would let its licence expire in 2001.

No wonder Camelot is toying with ideas about using its cash to expand into managing foreign lotteries. That would require government permission, which the Tories might well grant. The need to find new outlets for its money confirms that Camelot's shareholders certainly picked a winner.

Lloyd's £2.8bn offer not enough to buy peace, say names

JOHN EISENHAMMER
Financial Editor

Lloyd's of London's recovery plans were thrown into turmoil yesterday as leading names said the money being offered to them would not buy peace. In a letter to names, however, David Rowland, the chairman, played down expectations of raising any more funds to encourage loss-making investors to settle their quarrels with Lloyd's.

"We are continuing our strenuous efforts to maximise the settlement, but we can offer no assurance that the offer will exceed the target of £2.8bn set in the reconstruction plan," he said.

In a hard-hitting report, the names committee, made up of prominent action group leaders negotiating with Lloyd's on the global settlement, said the £2.8bn offer to encourage them to make peace was insufficient.

"The committee believes that more funds will be needed to settle litigation, to write off Lloyd's bad and doubtful debts with sufficient equity or fairness to satisfy all the main sections of the society's membership, and to ensure that the most hard-hit names are rescued from penury," the committee said.

"If there is not any more money, you probably won't get a settlement," said John Mays, a leading names' activist, who is seen as one of the moderates on the committee. "We are getting close to the wire, so we have to get on with the negotiations as time is not our friend at Lloyd's."

The report shows that names are being asked to pay £2.1bn to buy "finality" from all their past liabilities. In addition, there will be another £400m of uncollected bad debts, making the total bill facing names £2.5bn. Sir Adam Ridley, an executive of Hambros Bank and chairman of the names committee, described the figures in the report as "spine-chilling".

By next spring, the total losses facing the 34,000 names at Lloyd's over the last 10 years will amount to £1.14bn. This includes the £2.5bn "finality" bill for Equitas, the special re-insurance vehicle being set up by Lloyd's to take over all the insurance market's old liabilities, allowing it to begin again with a clean slate, and investors to walk away from the nightmares of the past.

Some 10,000 names, however, face further extreme hardship because their Equitas bills will be greater than their loss provisions set aside at Lloyd's.

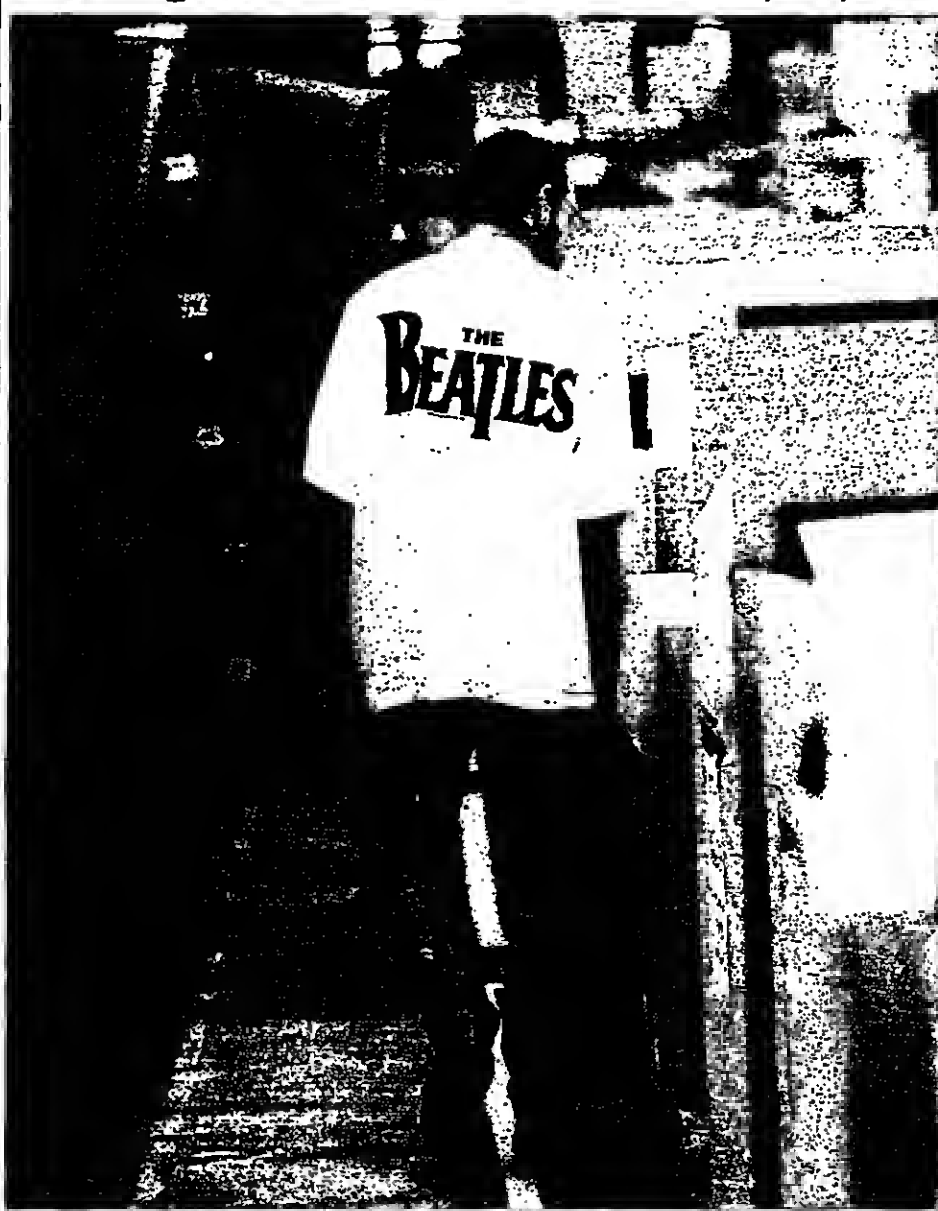
About 6,000 names will have no finality bill, and may even get some money back, while 17,000 should have enough funds at Lloyd's to cover their bill, even though in some cases people have pledged their homes as cover.

The current settlement negotiations are trying to square the circle of ensuring sufficient names' contributions to make Equitas viable, while trying to raise as much money in the market to make it easier for names to afford the settlement.

The current plan foresees £2.8bn of debt forgiveness and credits to encourage names to settle, and end all litigation, but the report yesterday said the committee was very concerned that this might be "insufficient to settle the growing mass of litigation which currently threatens the society".

Names have said they are looking for another £1bn on top of the £2.8bn. Lloyd's is currently negotiating with brokers and managing agents, as well as outside auditors, to increase the settlement assistance pot for names. The main hope for more money is the auditors, especially after the recent Lloyd's court ruling which went against Ernst & Young. But analysts are sceptical that much more money will be found.

Getting better: Beatles release boosts prospects as pre-tax profits surge to £179m



Stacking up a fortune: Thorn EMI's next quarter will be boosted by sales of the red-hot Beatles Anthology before Christmas. Photograph: Kevin Lamarque/Reuters

March launch for demerger of Thorn EMI

MATHEW HORSMAN
Media Editor

The Thorn EMI demerger will be launched by next March, Sir Colin Southgate, chief executive of the music and consumer goods retailer, said yesterday that the plan to divide the music and rentals businesses, likely to cost £100m in tax and advisers' fees, would be the "most efficient and cheapest [demerger] in living history".

Responding to criticisms that the company had not revealed enough information about the demerger plans, he advised shareholders and analysts to be patient. "The sheer administration is huge, and the paperwork is mind-blowing. We need to have everything audited and checked: it's just a huge structural exercise if we are to make it work."

The chief stumbling block will be winning favourable tax rulings in the 27 countries in which the company operates. The plan is to have off the rental business under the name Thorn plc, leaving the music business with the company's retail operations, including Dillons, the high street bookseller, and the HMV music shops.

Analysts value the demerged companies at about £7.5bn, compared with a market capitalisation yesterday of about £6.5bn. They repeated yesterday that the company remained a possible bid target, with US entertainment giant Disney the favourite.

Lack of information about the demerger, along with half-year profits at the mid-point of analysts' expectations, helped send the company's shares down slightly in light trading yesterday. The shares fell 24p to 1.523p, against estimates following demerger of about 1,700p a share.

Brokers suggested there had also been profit-taking on the stock's recent rise. The next quarter, which includes Christmas, is expected to be boosted by record sales of the new Beatles Anthology, launched this week.

It includes a remastered song by John Lennon, to which the three surviving Beatles have added harmonies. New titles by Queen and Garth Brooks are also likely to perform well. Pre-tax profits for the six months to September jumped 44 per cent to £179.7m, on turnover ahead 15 per cent to £2.2bn.

Sir Colin said the all-important Christmas season looked promising both in the US and in the UK.

Investment Column, page 26

Security slip: Second profits warning of the year sends investors scurrying

De La Rue shares dive

MAGNUS GRIMOND

De La Rue, the world's biggest banknote printer, sent investors reeling yesterday with its second profits warning this year. The news triggered a free fall in the shares, which dived 182p to 718p, leaving them nearly a third lower than the year's high of £10.52 hit in February.

The company said headline earnings per share would fall below last year's level after being hit by a fall in business in the main security printing operation and two other parts of the group. Having braced the market as recently as July to expect modest earnings growth this year, the latest estimate from the

company sent analysts scurrying to slash forecasts. Pre-tax profits are now expected to be as much as £25m lower than expected, leaving an outturn of between £140m and £150m, compared with £147m last year.

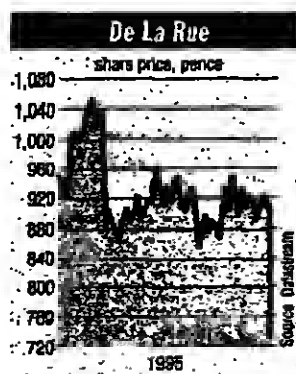
Sonia Falaschi of brokers UBS described the latest warning as "disappointing, not disastrous". She said De La Rue was "a defensive stock, which had got overblown on expectations of growth which has been exceptional over the past few years". But another analyst said the shares could still be vulnerable to further bad news.

In early March the shares sank 243p in one day after the company reinited back profits ex-

pectations in the wake of the £682m acquisition of Portals, the security paper maker. Jeremy Marshall, chief executive, said he understood the market's reaction yesterday after the second disappointment this year.

But despite unveiling a drop in interim profits from £72.8m to £69.1m in the six months to September, Mr Marshall said the fundamentals of the business had not changed.

He said that "a number of micro factors rather than one macro factor" had changed the forecast. In the main banknote operation it had lost some business from countries which needed to top up their own production. This had now



emerged and order books stretched out for 10 months, but it would be too late for this year, knocking £10m from profit expectations. A fall in deliveries of banknote machinery made by the Giori associate would shave another £10m from the figures. Investment Column, page 26

Youthful Leahy to lead at Tesco

NIGEL COPE

Tesco announced yesterday that Terry Leahy will take over as chief executive of the supermarket group when Sir Ian MacLaurin retires in 1997.

Sir Ian had already said he would step down at the annual meeting that year and was anxious to ensure a smooth succession.

Mr Leahy, who is 39, will become one of the youngest chief executives of a FTSE-100 company, responsible for a business with annual sales of more than £10bn. Long considered a high flyer within the company, Mr Leahy was picked out as a likely heir a couple of years ago.

He joined the company in 1979 and was appointed marketing director in 1992. His

position as Sir Ian's likely successor was confirmed in February, when he was appointed deputy managing director.

Mr Leahy was widely credited for the launch of the highly successful Club Card loyalty scheme, which has already signed up 7 million members. The card has helped Tesco to overtake Sainsbury as Britain's largest grocer.

Softly spoken, with a trace of a Liverpool accent, he is a keen football supporter with a strong allegiance to Everton.

Commenting on the announcement, Sir Ian said: "He's got a very good retail sense, is a good marketer and has strategic vision. He is also a very good motivator of people."

On his successor's youth, he said: "I've always thought this

was a young person's business."

Mr Leahy's impending appointment was popular in the City, where he is regarded as a retail "hot-shot". Tony MacNeary, retail food analyst at Nat West Securities, said: "Terry has proved himself well and the company has handled the succession admirably. But the real test will be the strength of the rest of the board he has around him."

As part of the reshuffle, David Malpas, joint managing director, will retire early next year. John Gardiner will take on Sir Ian's role as chairman on a part-time basis. Finance director David Reid will assume the additional role of deputy chairman and is widely tipped to succeed to the chairmanship after two or three years.

However, some analysts feel that the company might opt for an outside appointment with more international experience as Tesco's business becomes more diverse.

Analysts were yesterday drawing comparisons between Tesco's smooth handling of its succession question and that at Sainsbury. Tom Wyner, Sainsbury's influential deputy chairman is due to retire in early 1997 but there has been no news on a successor. The company has an older board than Tesco but has been making some moves to bring in fresh blood, including the appointment of Kevin McCarten, 58, to replace Ivor Hunt as marketing director. Mr McCarten is trading director of Woolworths, part of the Kingfisher group.

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THE INVESTMENT COLUMN

Edited by TOM STEVENSON

Awaiting terms at Thorn EMI

Pity Sir Colin Southgate at Thorn EMI. He unveils pre-tax profits dead on expectations, and announces what analysts call the best pre-Christmas news release line-up at music giant EMI. But no one's interested. All they want to know is when the two sides of the business - music and rentals - will be demerged and on what terms.

This is unsurprising, given that it is the demerger that has powered the company's share price in the past few months, pushing it through 1,500p, although it closed 34p lower yesterday at 1,523p. Shareholders have been promised that value will be maximised, and that means two quoted companies rather than one, for a combined value of, perhaps, £7.5bn, or 1,700p a share. A separate quotation for the rentals business, which includes Radio Rentals in the UK, would allow the profitable music and retail operations to enjoy a re-rating.

Some still expect a predator to step in before the demerger plan is put into effect sometime next spring. There is no lack of potential suitors, with Disney topping the list. Moving before the demerger is put through, but after all the painstaking administrative and accounting work is done, might well appeal to the potential buyers.

Sir Colin maintains that the group's performance is its best defence against a hostile takeover. And the numbers for the six months to September, unveiled yesterday, give him some support. Operating profits rose by 27.4 per cent to £194m, helped by the streamlined consumer products business (since Rumbelows was closed) and better results from EMI's music recording and publishing businesses.

HMV, which includes the Dillons bookstores, reported seasonal losses of £8.9m, in line with expectations. It is here that the company may be able to add real value in the coming months. It is already overhauling Dillons, applying some of the lessons learned at the HMV music shops.

The music recording and publishing business is still weaker than it should be in the US. But the European operations are strong, buoyed in part by growing sales of titles by regional artists in local markets. The third quarter, which includes Christmas, is likely to be a vintage period for EMI. It will include the red-hot new Beatles Anthology, as well as the first Queen album since Freddie Mercury's death earlier this year.

Analysts expect pre-tax profits for

the year of £515m, or about 71p a share, for a full-year multiple of about 21 times. That, of course, hardly matters: the real driving force will be demerger plans or a takeover bid, and the shares are still good value.

De La Rue hits much lower note

De La Rue, the banknote printer, has lost its growth stock rating since completing its £682m bid for Portals, the security paper group, earlier this year. The shares' 14 per cent one-day plunge in March was outdone yesterday when a second profits warning sent them spiralling down 182p to 718p, which leaves the price nearly one-third off its peak in February.

For the chief executive, Jeremy Marshall, and his team, the problems have resulted from an accretion of small setbacks. The high-margin banknote business, the backbone of the group, has lost out on "bonanza" business in the first half. Accounting for around a fifth of the normal total, this one-off work for state banknote printers that

cannot meet unforeseen spurts in demand, is the icing on top of the solid core of repeat business.

De La Rue has also suffered from the surge in US bank mergers this year, causing a "hiatus" in sales of electronic banknote sorters, printers, dispensers and the like. Finally Giori, the banknote machinery-making associate, has had a poor first half after a dearth of delivered orders. That combination added up to a disappointing 3 per cent drop in pre-tax profits to £69.1m for the six months to September, and prompted yesterday's warning on full-year earnings. Given that unrepeatable profits from project management work dipped in an additional £9.7m at the operating level in the half year, and Portals added a further £10.3m, the underlying picture was much worse than the headline figures showed.

Analysts yesterday sliced full-year profit forecasts from over £170m to between £140m and £150m, putting the shares on a forward p/e of between 15 and 16, only slightly ahead of the market. The company will have to work hard to regain its old reputation, but the fundamentals remain sound. De La Rue's banknote volumes may not return to the 20 per cent compound

growth of the past, but its market leadership and low costs bode well for the future. Meanwhile, the financial world is moving increasingly towards its automated banking equipment and cashless plastic card technology. Hold.

Exciting message from Vodafone

As a pure mobile phone play, Vodafone offers investors access to one of the fastest growing, most exciting markets in the world. Having achieved the premier position in the UK market, the company is repeating the formula across a range of overseas territories. It is an enticing prospect, even if it comes at a seemingly steep price using traditional stock market measures.

Half-time figures from the company yesterday confirmed the attractions. Turnover up 19 per cent to £666.4m generated a 12 per cent increase in pre-tax profits. Earnings per share rose by a similar margin to 4.39p, while shareholders were rewarded by an even more impressive 20 per cent rise in the interim payout to 1.97p.

Despite vicious competition from Cellnet, Orange and Mercury, and the enormous cost of attracting subscribers with handsets at ludicrously low prices, profits continue to be driven by the rapid transformation of mobile phones from business tool to consumer accessory. NatWest Securities estimates more than 12 million UK subscribers will have been connected by 2000, three quarters of them consumers.

Overseas there is also enormous scope, with Vodafone exposed to as many potential subscribers as at home. Losses from these start-up operations are reducing fast, down to £18m in the six months to September. In the long run these operations will contribute a significant profit, maybe 20 per cent of the total by the end of the decade.

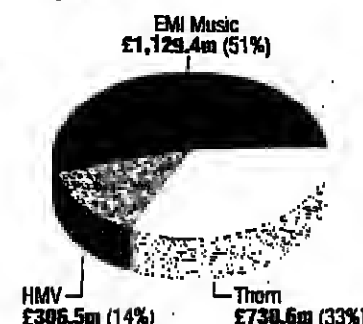
The difficulty with a company embracing an increasingly mature UK market and a still-embryonic overseas arm is in attaching a sensible valuation. A mixture of earnings multiple, for the operations at home, and discounted cash flow for the rest seems the most appropriate measure and according to one calculation could put a value of 300p on the shares, well above yesterday's close, down 15p at 239p. Although prices on a pure earnings multiple, the shares are good value.

Thorn EMI: at a glance

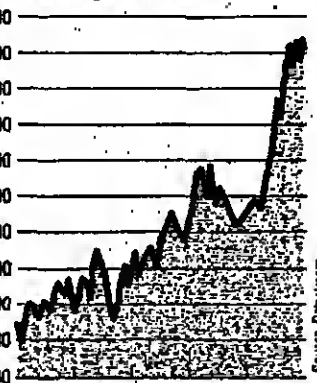
Market value: £6.55bn, share price 1523p

Half-year records	1993	1994	1995	1995
year ending March				six months to Sept
Turnover (£m)	1,453.3	1,492.2	1,509.2	1,585.1
Pre-tax profits (£m)	273.5	328.5	271.1	124.8
Earnings per share (pence)	22.5	27.5	21.9	10.5
Dividends per share (pence)	32.0	34.0	36.5	9.75

Turnover by business



Share price, pence



Northern suffers as doorstep milk vanishes

NIGEL COPE

The continued decline of doorstep milk sales combined with increasing pressure from the supermarket groups has dented half-year profits at Northern Foods, Britain's largest dairy group.

Pre-tax profits for the six months to September fell marginally to £53m though dairy profits were down sharply. The company blamed intense price competition among high street retailers, combined with rising

raw material costs, for the disappointing group performance. The hot summer weather hit sales of convenience foods such as ready-made meals and hot pies. Biscuit sales were also lower due to the weather and rising ingredient prices.

Doorstep sales of milk continued to decline with volumes down by 12 per cent. Northern Foods now sells more than half of its milk to supermarkets and just 27 per cent via doorstep delivery. Christopher Haskins, chairman, says doorstep sales

will fall to around 20 per cent over the next few years. The company says it is managing the decline of the doorstep pizza better than the industry average.

However, the dairy division saw profits fall sharply from £35m to £29m. Selling prices to supermarkets were badly affected by intense retail competition while packaging profits have increased.

The company is reducing its milk bottling capacity by 40 per cent through a series of dairy closures and the planned cost sav-

ing are starting to come through. The group's South-west and North Wales dairies were closed at the beginning of the year and the Hull and Middlesbrough dairies will close early next year. The group is also swapping assets with Associated Co-operative Creameries to concentrate on the East Midlands.

Profits in the prepared foods division fell by £1.7m to £34.7m. Sandwich sales were strong, though the mild early autumn weather affected sales of ready-made meals.

The Pork Farms and Bowyers subsidiaries performed well. Fox's Biscuits struggled to maintain brand share in the face of supermarket pressure, the weather and rising costs of ingredients such as butter, sugar and flour. However, price increases to retailers were implemented in April and October.

Green Isle, the Irish frozen foods group which Northern Foods took control of in June, is performing well and is establishing its Goodfella's pizza brand in the UK.

Mr Haskins said that he did not anticipate an improvement in market conditions but the company would continue to drive down costs.

He said that Northern was still on the lookout for other acquisitions in the UK food market, as well as Continental Europe. These would be in existing product areas such as dairy products and added-value foods. "We are expecting a big shake-up in the food market in the next two to three years," Mr Haskins added.

COMPANY RESULTS	Turnover £	Pre-tax £	EPS	Dividend
De La Rue (F)	77.2m (88.4m)	2.8m (2.5m)	15.3m (14.1m)	8.1p (8m)
De La Rue (F)	347m (324m)	49.1m (71.9m)	23.1p (28.1p)	7.25p (7m)
Malvern (F)	34.4m (32.3m)	2.61m (2.8m)	3.66p (4.88p)	1.1p (1m)
Lowndes Lambert (F)	39.4m (34.8m)	6.3m (5.8m)	6.9p (6.3p)	2.9p (2.5m)
Midland (F)	11.6m (11.1m)	0.61m (0.5m)	11.6m (10.5m)	6.4p (6.3p)
Mansfield Brewery (F)	14.2m (16.5m)	3.4m (3.2m)	10.3p (9.75p)	1.7p (1.5m)
HMV (F)	54.4m (52.2m)	2.52m (2.7m)	3.3p (3.6p)	1.5p (1m)
Readwell (F)	11.3m (10.9m)	2.7m (2.4m)	0.91p (1.03p)	0.82p (0.8m)
Sketchley (F)	71.4m (74.7m)	4.3m (4.5m)	5p (4.5p)	1.1p (1m)
Shanks and McEwan (F)	56.9m (55.7m)	10.9m (9.82m)	3.7p (3.5p)	1.2p (1.1m)
Thorn EMI (F)	2.19bn (1.94bn)	190m (175m)	24.7p (20.7p)	18.5p (17.5p)
Vodafone (F)	660m (551m)	200m (190m)	4.3p (3.9p)	1.97p (1.64p)

(F) - Final (I) - Interim

Hot weather stains gains at Sketchley

MAGNUS GRIMOND

Sketchley has become the latest retailer to blame the hot summer weather for a fall in sales. Turnover slid 4 per cent to £71.4m in the 26 weeks to September, despite a more than doubling in the number of Sketchley's new combined dry-cleaning and SupaSnaps photo-processing outlets.

John Jackson, chief executive, unveiled an 8 per cent rise in pre-tax profits to £4.32m for the period, saying he was pleased with the result. Since his arrival a year ago, Mr Jackson has overseen the merger of Sketchley's two retail brands, which operate from 104 combined sites, compared with 49 in March.

The summer weather had caused a "blip" in the 34 per cent rate of sales growth nor-

mally seen after 12 months of combined operations. Mr Jackson said. Although the increase was held to 18 per cent, Sketchley is going ahead with plans to open another 30 to 40 new sites next year.

Meanwhile, a more aggressive pricing policy against market leaders Boots since July has seen SupaSnaps reverse a fall in processing volumes. Volumes were up 23 per cent last week, against 2 to 3 per cent for the market.

A slip in retailing operating profits from £2.93m to £2.59m was more than made up for by uniforms and workwear, which rose from £2.79m to £3.23m. The division shrugged aside the ending of £1.9m in business from British Coal and expects to continue growth of more than 60 per cent in linen processed.

Mixed fortunes for Shanks & McEwan

RUSSELL HOTTEN

Waste management group Shanks & McEwan, which yesterday reported half-year profits up 10 per cent to £10.8m, is facing sharply contrasting fortunes at its two core divisions.

The waste services business, which disposes of domestic and industrial rubbish, is performing satisfactorily. But Rechem, which incinerates hazardous products, was hit by import restrictions and price competition.

Second-half profits have traditionally been lower, although Michael Averill, chief executive, said the company was now more evenly balanced throughout the year than the 60-40 per cent profits ratio last time. This meant 1995-96 pre-tax profits

would exceed last year's £16.3m. Cost-cutting would continue at Rechem, which was feeling the effects of tighter government regulations on the import of hazardous waste and was the main cause of a £2.4m fall in turnover to £8.8m. However, Mr Averill said, savings had been made and it was "difficult to see how we can reduce costs an awful lot further".

At the waste management division, operating profits increased by £100,000, despite a £1.2m provision for the treatment of landfill sites. Turnover was down £700,000 to £48.2m. The interim dividend is 1.2p, up 9 per cent.

IN BRIEF

APV sells refrigeration unit for £19m

APV is selling its refrigeration and freezer business based in the UK and Ireland to Portalegre, a wholly owned subsidiary of AAF McQuay, for £19m. In 1994, profit before interest and tax of the refrigeration business was £1.7m on sales of £42.5m. AAF McQuay is a supplier of air conditioning and air filtration equipment based in Baltimore, US.

Lowndes Lambert profits flat

Lowndes Lambert, the international insurance broker, announced unchanged pre-tax profits of £6m in the six months to the end of September, despite a 5.8 per cent increase in turnover to £45.5m. Broking profits fell from £3m to £2.7m.

Cannon Bridge sold for £64m

Pillar Property Investments will form a joint partnership with General Electric Pension Trust to buy the London office property Cannon Bridge for £64m. Cannon Bridge, completed in 1991, is fully occupied and produces about £6.2m gross rental income per year.

Sheraton Sky Line raises £36m

The Sheraton Sky Line hotel at UK's Heathrow airport has been sold by Skandia Group Insurance for £36m to Sheraton International.

United Biscuits sells US snack business

United Biscuits has reached agreement to sell its US Salty Snack business to private investors for \$8m cash.

Mansfield Brewery improves to £9.48m

The hot summer helped Mansfield Brewery lift half-year pre-tax profits from £8.76m to £9.48m. The dividend for the period to September was raised from 1.5p to 1.7p.

Independent Newspapers sale

Independent Newspapers is selling Independent Communications Australia (ICA) to Australian Provincial Newspapers for A\$15.5m (£7.48m) plus the assumption of A\$39.2m of debts. ICA owns Buspak Advertising Group, an Australian transit advertising company, and 26.7 per cent of Cody Outdoor Advertising.

Anglo Irish Bank rises to £19m

Anglo Irish Bank increased full-year profits before tax from £14.52m (£15.01m) to £19.13m. Earnings per share climbed from 5.02p to 5.7p. Final dividend is 2p.

Polish stake costs BAT \$88m

BAT Industries is buying a 65 per cent stake in PWT Augustow, a Polish cigarette factory it has been operating for more than four years. For \$88m, and has also agreed to invest \$70m over the next three years.

Simon Pincombe CITY DIARY

Ghosts, putting greens and silver emu eggs



Corporate image: Stan Laurel's hat has found a home at Bradford & Bingley

British Steel has an eight-foot steel cannon displayed on its eighth floor. The gun was built in 1862. And Christian Salvesen celebrates its whaling origins with a harpoon gun in front of its Edinburgh office.

At Asda they have a "toma-to" room, a "banana" room and a "table" room. The table room is furnished with a five-foot-high table and nothing else. "It's designed for meetings that they don't want to drag on too long," says Mr Wolsfeld.

There are some really neat buildings here," he says. The most impressive, he claims, is the head office of General Accident in Perth, Scotland, which offers staff use of a fitness centre, the Princess of Wales would die for, an Olympic-sized swimming pool and a putting green. The Tarmac building in Birmingham only has two tennis courts, but the office is surrounded by a moat (presumably to repel boarders).

In London, Prudential's Gothic edifice is haunted by a ghost, according to security. This is denied by management but night staff say the lifts regularly move on their own.

Some financial relief at least for Credit Suisse Asset Management, which is paying out a reported £100,000 a month to cover gardening leave for the 10 private client brokers who resigned in the summer to join James Capel. The first, James Knowles, has been released from terminal boredom and will join Capel's investment management division on Monday.

This is not an act of generosity on the part of Credit Suisse, which remains determined to keep the team out of action while it was clients. Rather, Mr Knowles was on a three-month contract. As readers will remember, some of the old Buckmaster & Moore team have a further eight months porridge in do. During this time they are forbidden to contact their clients - some of whom they have looked after for 20 years.

Bradford & Bingley actually owns the bowler hat worn by Stan Laurel. The very symbol of its corporate image, the building society bid for it in an auction. The Whitbread chairman has a boomerang in his office and BAT employees get 200 free cigarettes a month (although no free insurance from Eagle Star).

So what makes the UK different? "Free lunches," says Mr Wolsfeld, citing BP and Christie's, "and 13th floors. You will never see a 13th floor in the US."

One could go on.

Talking of lunch, one is reminded of how things used to be. An acquaintance who worked for BA's predecessor, BEA, fondly remembers the staff canteens. Not only were there three different restaurants for various levels of staff, there were also colour-coded seats at the lowest level. One colour was for the hourly paid and the other for the weekly paid.

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INSTRUMENTS FOR PROFESSIONALS

market report/shares

15
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DATA BANK

FT-SE 100
3,604.1 - 24.7

FT-SE 250
3,941.2 - 25.6

FT-SE 350
1,789.6 - 12.2

SEAQ VOLUME
909.9m shares,
31,389 bargains

Glits Index
94.73 + 0.15

SHARE SPOTLIGHT

share price, pence



Guinness suffers indigestion on talk of impending sale

TAKING STOCK

Intriguing, even fanciful, stories gripped the stock market as many shares showed signs of tiredness after their heroic run.

Guinness, already suffering from the sluggishness of the spirits market and growing pressure on margins, was one group pushed into the limelight. The shares gave up 6p to 467p, lowest since June.

A story that Goldman Sachs had in a bought deal, agreed to place LVMH's 20 per cent shareholding was probably behind the fall.

Last year LVMH, the French luxury goods group headed by entrepreneurial Bernard Arnault, cut its Guinness stake from 24 per cent. There is no restriction on it selling the rest of its shareholding.

Goldman, as past deals have demonstrated, is a powerful and adventurous securities house. Even so, it could find the rumoured Guinness com-

mitment too daunting. It would have to tie up around £2bn in any Guinness exercise and may feel the trading outlook for the drinks group could make such a mighty placing a too precarious undertaking.

However, the feeling a big upheaval is likely in the drinks industry was given support by Merrill Lynch which suggested mergers among the leaders with the possibility of Guinness's United Distillers offshoot merging with Allied Domecq's spirits division described as "feasible".

Granada was, for the second day running, high in the rumour chart. The suggested hotel buy intended to fade with stories it was keen to buy Forte's Little Chef roadside restaurants taking over. In busy trading Forte was at one time 12.5p higher but settled for a 4p gain to 275p at the close.

Ladbroke, up 4.5p to 137p,



MARKET REPORT

DEREK PAIN

Stock market reporter of the year

illustrated hopes of a hotel deal had not vanished completely.

The revolving boardroom door at Cable & Wireless became known after the market closed. During trading the shares, spurred by takeover hopes, soared 26p but closed up 9p at 429p.

With the company vulnerable to a strike there was talk a dawn raid could be mounted today.

British Aerospace was another to fail to hold its best levels. Talk of an Orange mobile telephone flotation next year and bullish comments from Credit Lyonnais Laing lifted the shares to 777p. They closed 24p higher at 773p.

Despite the valiant efforts of the rumour mill the FT-SE 100 index retreated 24.7 points to 3,604.1, ruffled by the inevitable profit-taking and the shock of a much wider-than-expected trade gap. Trading was busy with talk of at least one large programme trade.

BT with a near-47 million turnover, Hanson (36.6 million), Vodafone (36.3 million) and GEC (31 million) were the busiest traded blue chips with little Gaelic Resources (62.3 million at 1.5p) enjoying the liveliest session. The shares held at 1.25p.

Courtaulds, the chemical group, fell 16p to 360p as worries about today's results in-

creased with Goldman taking a cautious stance on the chemical industry. Imperial Chemical Industries slumped 32.5p to 742.5p, BOC 21p to 880p and Laporte 26p to 798p.

De La Rue produced the day's main profit warning, slumping 182p to 700p and fears of more profit downgrades haunted Inchcape, off 19p at 268p. Metsec, an engineer, fell 26p to 96p on its profit warning.

MAD, the on-line financial information group, had an eventful time, falling 36p to 269p which should allow it to get its delayed US share offering away. It has pitched its American sale at 240p and, to the surprise of many, needed a London price near 265p to allow the float to proceed.

There was talk that in after hour trading the shares changed hands at 290p, conditional on the £47m share sale being a success.

Black & Edgington, suspended at 9p, said it was taking over a Gibraltar drugs company owned by director Ian Gowrie-Smith's family. The marquee business is being sold and a cash call is planned.

Psion, the hand-held computer maker, jumped 37p to 705p, a peak.

BT recovered 5.5p to 2361.5p but Vodafone fell 14p to 239p on its results.

Packaging and paper shares remained weak with David S. Smith off 13p at 453p, James Cropper fell 19p to 265p.

Supermarkets again felt the pinch of price war fears with J. Sainsbury down 8p at 374p and Asda, despite a buy recommendation from Société Générale Strauss Turnbull, off 3.75p at 95.5p. Textile group Coats Viyella dipped 11p to 177p, unsettled by stories a big line of shares was hovering.

Asset swaps of the Tarmac-George Wimpey style could become fashionable. There are suggestions Allied Leisure, currently buying ten-pin bowling alleys from Granada for £19.8m, and Northern Leisure are toying with the idea of switching assets. Allied has unwanted outlets that appeal to Northern which, in turn, has properties Allied would like.

Northern was little changed at 96p and Allied held at 44p.

National Grid shares should trade up to 230p when stock market grey dealings in a when-issued form start today. The market is likely to be highly technical. Some regional electricity companies seem intent on hanging on to their Grid shares, restricting demand that could be substantial as the shares are due to go into the FT-SE 100 index next month.

Other details: Ex rights x Ex-dividend x Ex-all x United Securities Market. Suspended pp Parly Paid pm Nil Paid Shares.

Source: Financial.

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SHARE PRICE DATA

Prices are in sterling except where stated. The yield is last year's dividend, grown up by 20 per cent, as a percentage of the share price. The price-earnings (P/E) ratio is the share price divided by last year's earnings per share, excluding exceptional items.

Other details: Ex rights x Ex-dividend x Ex-all x United Securities Market. Suspended pp Parly Paid pm Nil Paid Shares.

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'I thought to myself I'm going to wipe that wink off [Tony Underwood's] face - when someone winks at you it's like laying down a challenge'



JONAH LOMU
on what brings down an
All Black's red mist

30

McRae drives into the light and the lead

Rallying

DERICK ALLSOP
reports from Chester

Colin McRae has confounded the forces of nature and man to give himself an unobstructed view of the World Rally Championship today. He embarks upon the last seven stages and 63.8 miles of the Network Q RAC Rally 17 seconds ahead of his Subaru team-mate and only rival for the title, Carlos Sainz.

McRae completed his phenomenal two-day recovery from

near despair by regaining the lead in the darkness of mid-Wales. He was a remarkable 22 seconds quicker than Sainz on the final stage before they returned to Chester for the overnight halt. If the Scot sustains the mastery he demonstrated in the mud and mist throughout yesterday, Britain will have its first champion of this tour at lunchtime.

They return to the Principality for the closing scenes of this drama with the theatre to themselves. The last possible threat to their parade was removed when Kenneth Eriksson's Mitsubishi plunged into a stream

and he was forced to retire. The Swede's demise promoted Subaru's Richard Burns to third and so bolstered the Banbury-based team's aspirations in the manufacturers' championship.

As on Monday, McRae had to contend with two punctures, but if they had any effect it did not show. His pressure was as relentless and merciless as Chinese water torture. He was the faster of the two drivers on six of the stage's seven stages, turning a 39-second deficit into a distinct advantage. While Sainz complained about the conditions, McRae calmly adjusted his stride and went further and further away.

McRae said: "I'm feeling fantastic. I've been driving well within my limits and I'm a little surprised my times have been so much quicker than anyone else's. Perhaps the others are being a little bit too cautious. The car is handling perfectly after Monday's dramas."

"I've been taking it easy where the fog has been particularly bad and where the stages have been very slippery. But to be honest I've not been pushing as hard as I did on Monday."

Sainz will not be comforted by McRae's disarming self-control. He maintained his more cautious approach in the hope that his

younger stable-mate would take one chance too many. Sainz, seeking a third championship, said: "I'm trying my absolute maximum - I can do no more. I do not know where Colin is getting the time from."

McRae, driven by a sense of injustice after conceding the Catalunya Rally on team orders and inspired to new levels of excellence following the fiendish intervention of Kielder, was irresistible yesterday.

The overnight rest served to reinvigorate him and he lapped 18 seconds off Sainz's lead over the first two stages. The Spaniard bemoaned the slippery condi-

tions and the lack of visibility. "The windscreen was misting up because the heater is not working on my side," he said.

Sainz saw his way through Brechfa without too much difficulty, heralding his course with blasts of the horn to warn spectators and emerged at the other side with his overall advantage increased by two seconds.

McRae, undismayed, said: "I expected Carlos to be quick in this stage last year. I'm not surprised he was a bit faster than me."

The recovery for Sainz was, indeed, only temporary. McRae resumed the attack and re-

duced the deficit from 23 seconds to five in three more confident strides.

Then, as observers speculated on McRae's tactics in the last stage, he dismissed suggestions he might allow Sainz to stay ahead with a stunning surge. To the dismay of the Spaniard, McRae had been 22 seconds quicker and was now well clear.

McRae said last night: "We had a good run in there to take the lead. I'm feeling very tired now. I haven't been able to relax at all. I don't think we'll have to attack quite so hard tomorrow as I don't think Carlos will get back in front now."

Network Q RAC Rally

Leg 4, Wed 22 Nov

Penetration N	11.08	Flake	Glycerol E	12.37
Penetration S	14.67	Clonidine W		12.25
Serpentine	05.43			
Start	07.38	Dye		08.08

